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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the muc Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material ... with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Jordan Retreats from Rabat

Hussein Gathers Parliament, Gets Anti-PLO Decision

In clear defiance of the 1974 Rabat Arab summit, which acknowledged the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Jordanian two-chamber Parliament, which is made up of West Bank Palestinian and Jordanian deputies, convened for the first time in nine years in an extraordinary session, January 9. The ceremonial meeting, intended to declare the "return to parliamentary life," amended a paragraph in the Jordanian constitution allowing elections to be held in Jordan and West Bank deputies to be appointed by Jordanian MP's. In the West Bank, the move was viewed with caution and concern.

The thirty parliamentary members from the West Bank, elected only weeks before the June 1967 war, were summoned to Amman to attend the meeting. The first of three royal decrees dissolved the Consultative National Council, an appointed, no-power body, which had replaced the parliament, suspended since November 1974, after the Arab heads of state and the League acknowledged the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people at the Rabat summit. Two other decrees issued the same day called the two legislative houses, modelled on the British system, into session, January 9. The main subject on the agenda will be approving new parliamentary elections in Jordan, while automatically renewing the term of office, thus avoiding controversial elections for West Bank MP's. The lower chamber, the house of representatives, consists of 60 elected deputies, half of whom are Palestinians from the West Bank. Six deceased West Bank deputies are to be replaced by an inter-Parliamentarian vote.

Steps towards implementing the move began days earlier, when the 13 MPs still living in the occupied area were summoned to Jordan. One MP who did not identify himself told the Associated Press in Amman that he and others were told to be in the Jordanian capital between January 9 and 12. All but two made it to Jordan on January 3, one day after they received the summoning message. Twelve MPs were immediately given exit visas by the Israeli authorities, who were aware of the plans to reconvene the parliament, *The Jerusalem Post* reported, January 5.

The remaining 17 MP's representing West Bank constituencies have been in Jordan since 1967. Six of them have died since then.

Dr. Hafez Abd al-Nabi Natshe, a parliamentarian from Hebron, was turned back at the Allenby bridge, January 4, by the Israelis. Natshe, who voiced irritation at the authorities' measure, said he could not think of any reason for preventing him from leaving.

Hussein's political move, which had been speculated for several months, is expected to be followed by more sweeping governmental changes. The Jordanian-leaning *Al Quds* newspaper reported from Jerusalem that the Jordanian government will resign within one week. The paper pointed out that the cabinet, headed by Mudar Badran, held a lengthy session, January 4, to clear the cabinet's agenda and prepare the proposed constitutional amendments. Local newspapers speculated that the most likely candidate to head the next government is Ahmad Obeidat now the interior minister.

The latest Jordanian moves on the West Bank were criticised by some local newspapers as an attempt to overturn the Rabat resolutions. *Al Talia* weekly accused the Jordanian government of attempting to pull the carpet out from under the feet of the PLO. *Al Fajr* Arabic daily, in an editorial on January 6, commented that the PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that West Bank Jordanian MP's do not speak on behalf of West Bank Palestinians.

Local Palestinians view with caution the Jordanian government's moves. Local papers gave prominence to a Kuwaiti newspaper report quoting a Jordanian official who said that Jordan would proceed to negotiate with West Bank MP's in order to enter negotiations on the future of the occupied territories. The Kuwait based *al Rai' al-'Aam* quoted the Jordanian official as saying that the West Bank MP's would be a substitute for the PLO, should PLO leader Yasir Arafat fail to come to Amman soon.

Al Quds newspaper urged Yasir Arafat to renew his dialogue with Jordan. The paper remarked that "the most important factor for the failure of talks was that the head of the PLO Executive Committee, Yasir Arafat, was afraid of a split within the Palestinian movement," which, according to *Al Quds*, has "already taken place."

The head of the Nablus chamber of commerce, Zafer al-Masri, speaking on Israel Radio, January 6, applauded the move.

Bomb Found in Hebron Market

A time bomb, the latest in a series planted in non-Jewish areas, was safely detonated, January 5, shortly before it was due to explode at the Qazazin market, in the heart of Hebron.

The device was discovered against the wall next to Ibrahim Rashad Maraqah's wholesale shop, at around 8:00 pm. The man who found it called the police, who in turn contacted the military authorities. Israeli troops cleared residents from the area and exploded the bomb. There was no damage. No organisation claimed responsibility for the bomb.

The latest series of bomb attacks against religious institutions and private homes began December 9. There have been at least a dozen attacks, which have left three people wounded. Most of the attacks were either claimed by or attributed to an Israeli terror group called 'Terror Against Terror' (TNT).

Palestinian residents are skeptical about investigations Israeli authorities are said to be conducting into the bombings. "One month after the terror campaign began, there have been no arrests of any suspect," one Hebronite commented after the last bomb was found. "I am wondering if the authorities are behind them."

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Marines under Attack

by Livia Rokach

A US Marine was killed and another wounded in a guerrilla attack, January 8, on two American military helicopters about to take off from a runway built on the Beirut shore near the ruins of the US Embassy destroyed in a bomb attack on April 18, 1983. Two Lebanese Army officers were also wounded in the same attack, which was carried out with rocket propelled grenades and light arms.

One day earlier, two other US Marines were wounded in an artillery attack from mountain positions on their base at Khalde airport.

Shortly before the attack on the helicopters, General John Vessey, chairman of the US joint chiefs of staff, met with Lebanese President Amin Gemayel to express full US military support "to build up the Lebanese Army and sustain his efforts to obtain the withdrawal of foreign forces." According to Lebanese sources, General Vessey told Gemayel that the Marines will remain in Lebanon until the Lebanese Army extends its authority over the country's entire territory. Maybe. What is certain is that the US' allies in the multinational forces are showing clear signs of preparing for departure. Most of the French troops have now been withdrawn from West Beirut and posted along the Green Line (where they were attacked, January 9, and one paratrooper was killed, according to agency reports) and in East Beirut. The French aircraft carriers Clemenceau and Foch have also left Beirut for a "period of repairs" at their Toulon base.

Following the return home of over one-third of the Italian contingent of 2100, the two Italian warships stationed off Beirut since September returned last week to their Bari base. British Premier Margaret Thatcher is now reported to have changed her mind in favour of the withdrawal of the small UK contingent. A panicking Gemayel is pressing for the complete evacuation of remaining Italian troops from south Beirut, where they were originally assigned to protect civilian populations, and their transfer to the centre of the capital, where they would guard the banks, hotels and luxury shops around Hamra, and to the neighbourhood of Wadi Abu Jamil, populated by Shi'ite refugees from the south who are considered a threat to the quiet and security of adjacent government buildings. A similar redeployment of the reduced Italian force requires a most unlikely approval by the Italian parliament, and similar suggestions may even bring about an acceleration of the contingent's retreat.

Despite US promises, the Gemayel regime is thus seen facing growing difficulties, while its so-called "security plan," envisaging an amplification of the areas under the army's control, is said to be floundering even before its official announcement.

Meanwhile, fighting intensified through the past week on practically all fronts: from Khalde to the Shouf to Iqlim al-Kharroub. Drastic rationing of electricity, with daily 14-hour cuts, has been decreed throughout Lebanon following artillery hits on the Jiye central electric installations.

Israeli Tanks on Rampage in Sidon

Israeli troops, nervous from the frequent recent military attacks, especially in the Sidon area, opened fire indiscriminately, January 7, on Lebanese civilians and vehicles on Riyad Solh Street, the busiest street in the capital of the south, injuring at least 10 people.

According to a report published by the *Agence France Presse*, January 8, two Israeli Merkava tanks, on patrol in the heart of Sidon, suddenly opened fire in all directions, At least 20 cars and several shops were damaged and some set alight. Shopowners immediately shut their stores and pedestrians took shelter, where several passers-by, according to some reports 10 people, were wounded. *Al Fajr* daily, quoting foreign reports, said that among the wounded was Nazih Mustafa, a correspondent in the city for the British news agency *Reuters*.

An Israeli military spokesperson in Lebanon denied the story and said the rampage could have been carried out by forces led by Sa'ad Haddad, which patrol South Lebanon alongside the Israelis. Later, however, the military spokesperson said that a military patrol suspected a car parked in a no-parking zone and fired at it to destroy it.

The Jerusalem Post reported, January 8, that a second booby-trapped car, was discovered in the heart of Sidon and blown up in the same manner.

Meanwhile, Israeli Minister of Defence Moshe Arens strengthened speculation of an imminent second Israeli pullback to new lines in South Lebanon when he hinted, January 9, that his government was considering such plans. Speaking at a Herut party meeting, Arens said Israel may withdraw from the the Awali River line even if the Beirut government is unable to honour the May 17, 1982 agreement.

Military observers link the Israeli plans to the unceasing military attacks against Israeli troops. One Israeli soldier was wounded in the latest attack, which occurred on January 9, near Sidon. *The Jerusalem Post* said the soldier was wounded when the military vehicle he was riding in came under small arms fire, in the outskirts of Beirut. The soldier was hospitalised.

Three military attacks were reported to have taken place in Sidon, January 5. *Al Ittihad* daily, quoting Israel Radio, said that an explosive device exploded as an Israeli patrol drove through Sidon. An Israeli military spokesperson said that there were no Israeli casualties.

Meanwhile, *AFP* reported that a hand grenade was hurled at an Israeli patrol in Sidon. Israeli troops closed off the area and began searching for the attacker. *AFP* also reported that an Israeli military convoy was attacked, a few hours earlier, as it was driving east of Sidon.

Leb. Army Round-up Civilians

by Livia Rokach

Former Lebanese Premier Saeb Salem, a major Sunni Muslim supporter of the Gemayel regime, criticised, January 9, the mass arrests carried out by the Lebanese Army in the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila through the past two weeks.

Salem informed the press that he phoned the army commander, General Ibrahim Tannous, demanding the release of all the persons arrested.

Since Christmas, when the Lebanese Army occupied the positions formerly held in the camps by French multinational forces (MNF) troops and established positions also in the rear of the Italian contingent's lines inside the sectors assigned to the latter's protection, hundreds of Palestinians have been arrested by the troops and taken to unknown destinations. Officially, the Lebanese Army claimed its operations were directed to uncover massive deposits of arms abandoned in the camps by the PLO, in August 1982. During the searches, no arms or explosives were found, but hundreds of persons were equally taken away on the pretext that their residence papers were not perfectly in order. Practically every single home in Sabra and Shatila was broken into by the military and all the men — including teenagers — blindfolded and thrown onto trucks and whisked away. The Italian government has officially protested against the arrests and charged the Italian contingent's commander, General Franco Angioni, to follow up the question, but no results have been forthcoming. Deceitfully, moreover, the Gemayel regime informed the MNF headquarters that only 60 persons were arrested, only 52 of whom remain detained. None of the persons taken away, however, has until now returned to his family.

On Saturday, January 7, new roundups took place in Sabra, where no MNF forces are present since the French withdrawal and where the Lebanese Army is by now the sole arbiter of the situation. Again, scores of persons were taken away blindfolded, but the army admits the arrest of only 10.

UNRWA Initiates Health Ed. Programme

UNRWA's Department of Health has initiated training courses for teachers to improve the school health programme. In-service courses will be organised by the Education Development Centre in Amman for 25 teachers from the Jordan Field who attended this year's summer course in health education.

In the Syrian Arab Republic, five health and 10 teaching staff participated in a 2-week training course in oral health at the Demonstration Training and Research Centre in Damascus in collaboration with the World Health Organization/Eastern Mediterranean Regional Office. A similar course for 15 health and teaching staff from Jordan is planned at the same centre this month.

Ba'albek Casualties High

"Israeli fighters bombed Lebanese and Palestinian positions near Ba'albek, January 4, killing 100 people and injuring 400, among them a large number of civilians.

"Sixteen Israeli Airforce fighter planes carried out three waves of attacks, starting at 8:10 am, on the villages of Tali'a and Hosh al-Ghannam, 25 kilometres north of the Beirut-Damascus international highway. Eyewitnesses told the *Associated Press* that the second and third waves of attacks took place while residents were aiding the victims.

"The *Agence France Presse* quoted Lebanese Amal leader Nabih Berri as saying that the air strike affected 'civilian locations, like hospitals, restaurants, the Ba'albek Palestinian refugee camp, a school and a centre for the local police. Berri called the attacks a 'massacre against Palestinian and Lebanese, in the continuation of the Deir Yassin and the Sabra and Shatila massacres.' Berri said that the 'massacre will intensify our determination to struggle until the last Israeli soldier leaves Lebanon.'

"Radio Beirut said that the air strike produced the highest toll of victims of any air strike since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982." (Translation: Al Quds, Al Talia, January 5, 1984)

Lawyer Held, No Charges

Israeli military authorities detained Shukri Aboudi, a Ramallah lawyer, on the night of December 25, from his home. The reasons for his detention have not been revealed.

According to the family, Israeli soldiers came to the lawyer's house at around midnight, searched the house and arrested the lawyer. He was taken to the Ramallah military compound, where he remains. (Translation: Al Awda, January 7, 1984).

Journalists Town Arrested

Israeli authorities have placed two Palestinian journalists under town arrest. Town restriction orders are for six months.

Musa Jaradat, an *Al Fajr* correspondent in Sa'ir, near Hebron, was restricted, January 6.

Mohammed Amireh, correspondent for *Al Quds* daily in Nablus, was ordered, January 8, not to leave town for six months. (Translation: All local papers, January 8, 1984).

UNRWA EMPLOYEES AMONG ANSAR DETAINEES

Among the 4500 prisoners released by the Israeli Army from Ansar prison camp, South Lebanon, in the November 24 POW exchange were a number of UNRWA employees. Fifty-two of the 57 UNRWA employees known to be held at Ansar have been accounted for.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 193, January 11, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	29
Number of articles totally censored out	9
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	2
Number of articles passed	17

CENSORSHIP DURING 1983

	No.:	Percentage:
Number of articles submitted to censor	1306	100.00
Number of articles censored	369	28.25
Number of articles mutilated	58	4.44
Number of articles partially censored	152	11.64
Number of articles returned or lost	32	2.45
Number of articles passed	695	53.22

Teachers Condemn Mass Dismissal

The General Committee of Government School Teachers in the West Bank (GCGSTWB), the unofficial public school teacher's union, condemned the firing of more than 40 teachers from various parts of the West Bank, last week, as being without any academic justification. The most recent firings were of eleven teachers from the Tulkarm district, who were replaced with no reason given.

In a letter sent, January 2, to the Israeli education officer in charge of the West Bank, Asa'ad Araydeh, the GCGSTWB demanded that dismissed teachers be restored to their posts. The committee's letter stated that they investigated the cases of the dismissed and found their dismissal was not based on any academic shortcomings. One teacher active in the Teachers' Committee who preferred to remain anonymous told *Al Fajr* that many of the dismissed teachers were still in their two-year training period. Many teachers received a brief notice stating that "the education officer did not approve your hiring." Other teachers were fired after completing the training period.

The teacher charged that hiring decisions are usually made on political rather than academic grounds. He reiterated the teachers' statement that evaluation of the academic performance of those dismissed showed they had good records. Government school teachers are presently involved in a labour dispute with their employees, the Israeli military authorities, over their salaries. They rejected a 15 percent increase last month. They had been asking for a 100 percent hike. The increase was supposed to be deducted from the price index pay rise, which is given to teachers once every three months.

During the 1982-83 academic year, the Israeli military authorities fired or forced retirement on more than 150 teachers, many of whom were unionists active in the Teacher's Committee.

The Government School Teachers' Committee was formed in 1980 after a two-month teachers' strike for better wages. The Israeli authorities have repeatedly refused to recognise the committee as a union and have arrested its activists.

Shooting Victim Buried, Killer Unknown

Rida Hashem Zeid Kilani, shot dead by Israeli soldiers at a checkpost, January 1, was buried at his village, Saylet Harethieh, in the Jenin district, January 5, at 11:00 pm, following a High Court ruling that the military allow mourners to attend the ceremony.

Kilani's relatives went to the High Court, demanding to be permitted to arrange a proper funeral after they were given verbal orders by Israeli officers in Jenin to limit attendance.

In court, the Israeli legal advisor said village residents were preparing to change the funeral into a demonstration. "Palestinian flags were made to be carried by the demonstrators," the legal advisor said. The court ruled that 100 people should be allowed to attend the late-night funeral, which went ahead with no interference from the military.

Youth Arbitrarily Sentenced for Molotovs

In a group trial, one day earlier, the Israeli military court at Ramallah sentenced eight Hebron students to prison terms of 2-20 months. The longest term was given to Nu'man Abu Su'aifan, who was sentenced to 36 months, 16 suspended. Su'aifan was charged with taking part in protests and stone-throwing, early in December. For similar charges, Abd al-Mu'ti Hirbawi, on the other hand, was sentenced to two months imprisonment and four months suspended.

Last December 21, the Ramallah military court sentenced 12 youngsters from al-Arroub refugee camp, outside Hebron, to prison terms of four-to-six months and a IS20,000 fine each. The youths, all high school students aged 15 to 18, were charged with stoning Israeli cars, one month earlier. According to the charge sheets, they attacked an Israeli bus *en route* to Kiryat Arba settlement, near Hebron, injuring three Israelis.

During the trial, the youths charged that confessions were forced out of them through torture. The court rejected their complaint.

Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced a Qaliqiliya youth, Issam Hosni Abdo, 20, to five years imprisonment, January 5, after convicting him of throwing a Molotov at an Israeli vehicle. The sentence was the harshest given during the recent spate of military trials of Palestinian youths on charges of anti-occupation activities.

Issam Abdo was charged with throwing a petrol bomb at an Israeli vehicle in Qalqiliya, last month. The judge stated in his decision that the court views attacks with Molotov cocktails as as serious as the use of firearms in attacking Israeli targets.

Settlers Smash al-Bireh

"Israeli settlers destroyed, January 8, the windows of 10 cars belonging to Palestinians in Ramallah, according to an *Agence France Presse* report." "The report said that police arrested the settlers, who were released a short time later." (Translation: Al Sha'ab, January 10, 1984).

The Jerusalem Post adds: "The Ramallah police is investigating a complaint by a Palestinian resident and a counter-complaint by Jewish residents from Ofra settlement, following the stoning of an Egged bus and a rash of windscreen smashing in al-Bireh.

"The al-Bireh car dealer, Bashir Abu Shawish, complained to the police that 10 cars in the yard of his business were damaged by unknown settlers.

"Abu Shawish was able to identify one settler from the settlement of Ofra as one of the people he had seen inside his parking lot.

"The Ofra man, whom the police refused to identify, was arrested and later released on bail."

Lawyer: Hamdallah's Arrest 'Revenge'

"The Israeli military court in Nablus refused, January 9, to release Wahid Hamdallah, the elected mayor of Anabta.

"Police officials claimed to have secret information indicating that Hamdallah participated in killing a land dealer in the occupied territories. The court approved the prosecutor's request to extend the arrest of Hamdallah for four more days.

"The defence team representing Hamdallah categorically rejected the charges. Felicia Langer, head of the defence team, said that the police's refusal to disclose their evidence is sufficient to prove its 'silliness.'

"Wahid Hamdallah also spoke at the trial, calling the charge 'political revenge'. Hamdallah laid all responsibility for his well-being during his arrest on the police. Hamdallah is suffering from a heart ailment.

"The Nablus court was attended by a large number of Nablus and Anabta residents, who came to express solidarity with Hamdallah.

"Defence attorney Felicia Langer has asked the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality to bring the attention of the Israeli Knesset to the situation of Hamdallah.

"Langer also contacted (candidate for the US Democratic Party's presidential nomination) Rev. Jesse Jackson's advisor for Arab affairs and other American personalities, asking them to interfere on Hamdallah's behalf." (Translation: Al Ittihad, January 10, 1984).

Knesset Ties West Bank to Israeli Law

The Knesset confirmed, January 2, by a majority of 54 to 46, the first reading of a proposal of a law to amend the Law of Land Improvement for deals made by Israeli citizens of land in (the West Bank) and the Gaza (Strip).

The opposition sharply criticised the proposed amendment. Tawfiq Toubi of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality claimed that the law formalises the confiscation and stealing of land in the occupied territories from Palestinian people, both by the authorities and settlers or land dealers. Shevah Weiss, Labour, said that the proposed amendment is a clear legislative sign of creeping annexation through legislation. Hayim Roman, Labour, accused that through this law the government is trying to validate *de facto* Israeli law on (the West Bank) and that this proposal has the intention of annexing the area without giving rights to its inhabitants.

Nazem Bader, secretary of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality Knesset office, told *Al Fajr*, "In practical terms, Israeli law will be implemented in the occupied territories and land grabs will consequently be legally endorsed through tax payments."

Amnon Rubinstein, Shinui, called on the government and the Knesset to decide the status of the occupied territories. Ya'acov Gil, Labour, also claimed a gradual process of annexation of the occupied territories is taking place.

The second and third reading of a bill extending the validity of the British Mandate Emergency Defence Regulations (1945) in (the West Bank) and Gaza passed by a majority of 47 to 40.

Mordechai Wirshovsky, Shinui, claimed that within the framework of prolonging the Emergency Defence Regulations, Israeli law is being infiltrated into the (West) Bank through the back door. He said that the end of Article 4 now entitles the justice minister, pending confirmation by the Constitutional Committee of the Knesset, to add to the appendix any law that would be considered fit by him, and the significance of this is the application of Israeli law on the (West) Bank and the Gaza Strip. He emphasised that the implication of this step is annexation and application of Israeli law on the (occupied) territories.

Professor Shevah Weiss, emphasised that this law is a legal annexation at increased speed.

The Committee of Working Lawyers in the West Bank condemned the measure as "opening the way to imposing Israeli laws on the West Bank."

Order Nisi Halts Land Deal Fraud

The Military Objections Committee issued an order *nisi*, January 3, temporarily preventing two Israeli development companies from registering ownership for 6448 dunums of land in Obedieh village, Bethlehem district, until further investigation is made.

The lawyer for the 62 village landowners, Abed Asali, pointed out in the court hearing that the companies' documents prove only two villagers sold land, totalling less than 30 dunums.

One of these, Amer Musallam Sarakhi, claims that in 1978 he was visited by two well-known land dealers, Sabri Abu Tair and Fayez Abu Tair, from Um Toba, near Bethlehem, and given drugged coffee. The Abu Tairs then put his fingerprints to a document transferring ownership of plot number 812 in block 4 to them.

The second document shows that Mahmoud Atieh Ellian sold his 20 dunums to land dealers in 1974.

The companies are claiming that the Arab land dealers bought 200 times that amount for them in block numbers 4 and 5 in 1974 and 1978.

Over 100 village residents turned out for the court hearing before the Military Objections Committee — an Israeli lawyer, the *tabu* office director and an Arab accountant. (The recent Military Order 1060 took jurisdiction for such cases away from West Bank civilian courts and placed it under Israeli military law).

Asali provided the court with 62 landowners' statements, made under oath, testifying that they did not sell their land; thereupon the court issued its order *nisi*, postponing final decison to a subsequent session.

Water Cut to Dhahriya

There has been no water in the Hebron area village of Dhahriya, population 15,000, since December 19, when supplies were cut after claims that residents owe the water department in Ramallah IS1,300,000. Over and above this sum, the council itself has added IS56,145 to consumers' bills. Residents charge theft by the some members of the village council. The total bill has been imposed on 10 local clans and some Beduin and refugees of the village.

Clan heads and members of the village council published ads in local newspapers claiming that some members of the village council, including its chairman Ahmad Qesieh, are involved in corruption and theft. The statement said that when the water was shut off in the past, the village council paid the bill from the school improvement budget. The statement said that villagers pay their water bills to the council monthly.

Two days after the water was shut off, the council distributed new bills to Dhahriya clan heads. The clan heads said in their statement that the figures are "incorrect, forged and full of mistakes." They accused Qesieh and his supporters in the 17-member council of not listening to their positive proposals to solve the water crisis. "This negative attitude provoked residents to protest," the statement said, and it called upon notables to immediately investigate the situation at Dhahriya.

Nasser Hassan Weridat, head of the Weridat clan, said that the village council sells one cubic metre of water for IS60 and buys it at IS41. Weridat, who is a member of the village finance committee, said that 5877 cubic metres were stolen in September and October. Dhahriya residents only consumed 11,615 cubic metres, according to domestic metres, while the official consumption record is 17,492 cubic metres. The council made IS108,571 trading profit in September and October, Weridat says.

Other village sources say there are four people working in three local institutes who are stealing local funds.

Dhahriya students presently attend classes in 60 rented and collapsing rooms in different parts of the village. Weridat told *Al Fajr* that he found on a recent trip to Amman that JD8000 had been withdrawn from village accounts for school improvements. The funds have now been frozen by the Jordanian ministry for occupied lands affairs.

The village council secretary, Amin Attalah Hawarine, dismissed the charges of fellow villagers but admitted there are differences between members of the council. He said that the council regularly pays its bills.

Police Beat Arab Workers

Workers Bashir Zaid and Wa'el Khatib who were employed, December 22, on the construction site of Drucker Contracting Company, near Rishon Lezion beach, were beaten up by two plainclothes policemen.

According to the two, the policemen didn't identify themselves and spoke in a degrading manner when demanding their ID cards. The labourers were arrested, and the Rehovot Magistrate's Court released them after 48 hours.

An *Al Hamishmar* correspondent was told that another Arab labourer who witnessed the incident and asked the policemen why they beat the pair was also hit. The site foreman, Ali Darawsheh, asked policemen to stop beating the labourers, and one of the policemen took out his revolver and shot between his legs.

Binyamin Gonen (Rakah), member of the Histadrut Executive Committee, talked with the security officer of the Drucker Company and said that he confirmed the labourers' complaints.

Police Version

Rishon Lezion police commandant Dani Gimshi said parents and teachers from the Reali Secondary School, near the building site, complained that "men of the minorities" bothered girls exercising on the sports fields. The police sent a patrol and found two men mocking the girl students. The policemen requested the two to present their personal data and to accompany them to the police station. However, they refused to provide the data and get into the police van and attacked the policemen when they tried to arrest them. More labourers came towards the two, carrying working tools in their hands. The policemen shot once into the air, retreated and called for reinforcements. Then the two were arrested.

The police commandant added that in spite of the severity of the case, the police decided to treat them leniently and didn't request their detention beyond 40 hours. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, December 27, 1983).

Leading Nationalist Ghassan Harb Dies

Ghassan Harb, 43, a leading Palestinian economist and outspoken patriot was laid to rest at the Ramallah cemetery, January 9. Harb, also known as Abu Fajr, died a day earlier at his home, in Ramallah, after a long struggle with cancer. He is survived by two sons: Fajr, 13, and Fadi, 8.

Thousands of residents from various parts of the occupied territories, led by wreath bearers, attended the funeral.

Harb, who prior to his death taught in and lead the economics department at Bir Zeit University, was politically active all his life and earned the reputation of a hard and dedicated nationalist. Abu Fajr, a Communist activist, angered both the Jordanian government prior to 1967 and the Israeli authorities afterwards. He spent a total of 11 years in jail — eight years in the Jordanian maximum security prison of al-Jafr, between 1958 and 1964. He was also held without trial under administrative detention by Israel between 1974 and 1977.

The economist was educated in the Soviet Union, where he earned a masters degree in economics.

Following his release from Israeli jails, Bir Zeit University, where he was employed, sent him on a scholarship to get a PhD in the US. He, however, dropped his plans after he discovered his ailment.

Close asssociates describe him as a lovable person who dedicated his life to serving the working class. He will also be remembered for his regular lectures in economics to unionists.

Israeli Teenager Shoots Arab Worker

A youth from Ramot Eshkol, Jerusalem, shot an Arab worker in the neck from the window of his flat using an air-gun he received as a present from his father. The worker was on a job site nearby.

The 16-year-old boy taught himself to shoot the same day he got the license to hold it. He said he was aiming at soda cans, but the pellets hit an Arab municipality worker who was repairing the sewers. The worker reported the incident to the police and said he saw exactly which window the shots came from.

The police visited the flat the next day, questioned the youth, confiscated the rifle and opened a file under "careless behaviour in a built-up area." He was released on bail.

The Arab worker claims he was deliberately shot in revenge for the assault on a West Jerusalem bus. (Translation: HaAretz, December 12, 1983).

Church Arsoned

Unidentified individuals arsoned a church in West Jerusalem, January 5, in another in a series of bombings and arsons against Christian and Muslim targets.

Elias Sharikas, an elder in the Messianic Assemblies Church, said that they had heard a rumour the day before that the church might be burned but could take no protective action. The fire destroyed the church's piano and a number of books.

According to church officials, the burning is a result of an "anti-missionary mood" now prevalent in Israeli circles. Church sources said that a recent visitor placed the address of the church on copies of Biblical literature later distributed in Orthodox Jewish circles. The 120-member church said it had nothing to do with the material. More than a year ago, the Baptist Church in West Jerusalem was completely burned by Meir Kahane's Kach group. More recently, explosives have been placed outside Christian and Muslim religious insititutions, in the last month, injuring several people. Plans to build a Christian hotel in the mammoth Gilo settlement, near Bethlehem, were scrapped last week by the Jerusalem municipality, which refused to issue a building permit. A number of newly converted Christian families in Tiberias have reported harassment by Jewish neighbours.

Bridge Closed to R. Tawil

Israeli military authorities prevented, January 8, Palestinian journalist Raymonda Tawil from leaving the West Bank to participate in a political debate on West German television.

Tawil, a joint owner of the Palestine Press Services and *Al Awdah* magazine, was told by the Ramallah military governor that "the highest authorities will not allow you to leave". Tawil had intended to leave the West Bank via Jordan.

The well-known Palestinian writer, who won Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky's 1980 human rights award, told *Al Fajr* that the authorities are trying to stop "moderate voices" by their banning action.

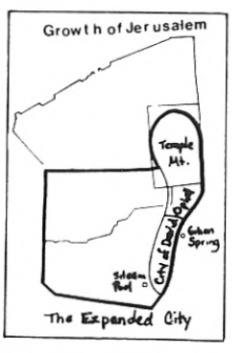
The TV debate, which is to be broadcast live on TV and radio, January 9, is entitled "Israel, Palestine and Us". Among the participants are former Chancellors Kreisky and Brandt, of Austria and West Germany, Israeli peace activist Uri Avneri and *Al Fajr* Editor-in-Chief Hanna Siniora, also from the West Bank.

Plans to have Tawil participate in the debate via satellite from Jerusalem have been scrapped. Raymonda Tawil said she thought political pressure on the television company was behind the cancellation of the idea.

Waqf Protests Distribution of 'False Maps'

The *waqf* (Islamic charitable foundation) has complained to the Israeli ministry of tourism about Israeli-government licensed tourist guides handing out leaflets in al-Aqsa compound showing the first and the second Jewish temples in the place of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.

The telegramme, signed by director Hassan Tahboub, said the *waqf*, which supervises the Islamic holy places and secular as well as religious monuments in the West Bank, looks at this matter seriously. "The distribution of false maps," he said, "creates confusion among tourists and Muslims." The telegramme demanded the concerned authorities prevent the distribution of these maps.



The leaflet bears the title 'Archeological Seminars Inc.', a for-profit organisation which conducts daily tours from the Cardo Museum through the Jewish Quarter. A *waqf* employee told *Al Fajr* that the leaflet was distributed inside al-Aqsa by an Israeli guide and that a tourist had handed a copy to the *waqf* administration.

The Israeli tourism ministry spokesperson refused to comment on the distribution of the leaflet and claimed to be unaware of the protest telegramme.

ISRAEL RADIO SAYS STONE-THROWING DOWN

Firebombs Increase

Israel Radio said, January 9, that the number of stone-throwing attacks in the West Bank and Gaza fell in December, while firebomb attacks increased.

The radio, which was quoting a security official, gave no figures but claimed that the reason for the decrease in stone-throwing is due to a "slow-down in the influx of funds from the PLO," which means stone-throwers "cannot pay their fines," and increased security measures.

No explanation was given for the increase in firebomb attacks.

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Futile Attempts

The Hashemite King of Jordan, Hussein Ben Talal, in a circumventional and devious move, called his parliament, including Palestinians supposedly representing the West Bank, to convene in Amman, January 9. He thus officially conceded the suspension of November 1974, issued when the Arab heads of state had no choice but to recognise the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Since the 1967 war and the defeat of his army, Hussein and his governments did not give up their dream of controlling the West Bank. In 1970, he expelled the Palestinian independent government from Jordan. His proposal of a United Kingdom of Jordan in 1972 was one way of transcending the massacres against the Palestinians. The Jordanian government agents worked hard to convince the population of the West Bank that "the most important issue is to save the Arab land from Israeli occupation; never mind who would control it." But all these efforts went in vain when the strength of the PLO forced Jordan to give in at the Rabat Arab summit in 1974.

No chance has been spared and every opportunity was grabbed by Jordan to circumvent the Rabat decision. After every military blow to weaken the PLO, Hussein was eager to move forward. The invasion of Lebanon, in 1982, and the departure of the fighters from Beirut, in August, constituted the peak and the best opportunity for Jordan to knit its way back. As soon as US President Reagan announced his September 1 Plan, Jordan was the first to smile. In the second Fez Arab summit, Jordan was in the front lines defending the plan. When these attempts failed, Jordan chose the practical process of bridging the Fez resolutions with the Reagan Plan. The main axis that Jordan based itself on during the Arafat-Hussein negotiations, until April 1983, was the bridging operation.

However, the talks failed to boost Jordan as high as its aspirations, and the West Bank became the field of operations for Jordan and its agents. Dozens of Jordanian restrictions were levied on West Bankers: students could not cross the bridges to Jordan; children were returned; goods needed the signature of faithful Jordanian agents. On the political level, people with well-known Jordanian allegiances met with Israelis to discuss the future of "municipalities and land."

King Hussein's statements to the *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* during the recent events in Tripoli, north Lebanon, indicated the direction of Jordanian wind.

It seems that the Hashemite regime in Jordan believes that the PLO is at its weakest now, and a dramatic move must be adopted to create a *fait accompli*. But the Jordanian regime forgets that it is the Palestinian people's will that foiled its attempts before, and will again.

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Mohammed Hallaj on Arafat's Cairo Visit:

"No Valid Reason for Objection"

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington DC Correspondent

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's visit to Cairo, after his departure from Tripoli late last year, drew mixed reactions from Palestinians in the US. There are those who support the visit as a brilliant tactical move and others who oppose it as ill-advised, expecially since Egypt at present is still committed to both the unilateral peace treaty with Israel and to the Camp David accords. Mohammed Hallaj, director of the Palestine Research and Educational Centre, in Washington DC, supports the visit. Next week, we will present the opposing view in an interview with Nasr Aruri, former President of the Association of Arab American University Graduates and a professor at Northeastern University, in Massachusetts.

Al Fajr: **After his departure from Tripoli, Chairman Arafat went to Cairo and met President Mubarak, while Egypt is still committed to its peace treaty with Israel and to the Camp David accords. Do you think the visit of Chairman Arafat should have taken place under these conditions?**

Hallaj: I see no valid reason to object to Arafat visiting Egypt. When you say 'under these conditions' in your question, you're actually telling half the story, because there are other conditions. He visited Egypt under circumstances which indicated erosion of support for the Palestinain issue in the Arab world as a whole. This, in fact, included indications that many states in the Arab world are not particularly resistant to the idea of diminishing the Palestinian factor in the Middle East equation, or at least subordinating it to Arab considerations. These are also considerations. By pointing out certain conditions under which the visit took place, you're making it look worse than it actually is in terms of its applications.

Arafat didn't go to Egypt because Egypt recognises Israel.

Q: In spite of the fact?

A: In spite of the fact that it recognises Israel, not because — and that makes a difference.

Q: After the Arafat visit, Egypt's deputy foreign minister visited Israel for the first time since late 1982, it is believed here, due to American pressure. In light of this, what would you add?

A: I think it is incorrect to interpret Yasir Arafat's visit to any country as an endorsement of the political position of that particular country on the issue of the Palestinian question. Yasir Arafat has visited 50 countries, if not more. Are we to say that his visit to Yugoslavia, for example, indicates endorsement of the Yugoslav position on Palestine, or Spain's or China's? Yasir Arafat is the political face of the Palestinian people, as far as the international community is concerned, and his visits to various countries are intended to make these countries see things the way we do.

What I object to is the interpretation that merely because he went to Egypt, he's being sucked into the Camp David process. You can argue, just as forcefully, that when he goes to another country, he goes to press that country to take a position more compatible with our own.

I'm not suggesting that he went to Egypt to convince its leaders to follow a position more Palestinian than Egyptian, but I'm saying its not right to deduce automatically that Yasir Arafat is sympathetic to the Camp David accords or consents to them.

Here's a man who was under pressure to evacuate Lebanon. He was at sea, passing through the Suez Canal, and it would have been unusual not to call on the leaders of Egypt. Also, the fact that Egypt was more supportive of the PLO than any other Arab state, as far as I know, during its time of need when it was under siege in Tripoli is another reason.

Q: There are Arab League (AL) and Palestine National Council (PNC) resolutions dictating Arab and Palestinian contacts with Egypt in light of its peace treaty with Israel. How would you explain Arafat's visit, which apparently deviates from those resolutions?

A: The AL undermined its own legitimacy as a regional organisation when it stood aside as the Palestinians were being slaughtered during the Israeli invasion and the later Tripoli fighting. The AL cannot remember its rights and forget its obligations.

In terms of the PNC, I read the Algiers resolutions of the 16th PNC session as not making it illegal for Arafat to visit Egypt. The PNC did not state that our relations would be in effect dependent on how much Egypt distances itself from the Camp David accords.

I think there will be unanimous agreement that President Mubarak perhaps distanced Egypt from the accords. Specific examples: Egypt doesn't agree with Israel on its interpretation of the Camp David accords and, as you know, this led to discontinuation of the talks. Sadat said he was willing to speak and negotiate for the Palestinians if they didn't want to. Mubarak has not said this.

There's no question that the normalisation process is much cooler, much slower, than it has been before. And I think that if Arafat can encourage Hosni Mubarak to distance himself more by visiting him, then he is in effect complying with the PNC resolutions. This is a question of interpretation and is not as clear-cut as some people make it appear.

Q: What would you say about Arafat's attempts at distancing Egypt from Camp David in light of the Egyptian deputy foreign minister's visit to Jerusalem?

A: I'm not saying that Yasir Arafat will necessarily achieve this objective. What I'm saying is that I'm not going to condemn him for trying. One should not forget that Egypt supplied us with weapons to fight with, and it could be argued that Egypt in effect violated its peace treaty with Israel by doing this. We face a life and death struggle, and it's not fair, the way I see it, to talk about things from the question of legality and illegality, sticking to this or that resolution. The visit should be looked at as a political act, based on interest rather than anything else. The question should be: is he taking us farther away from where we want to be by doing that, and what would be the alternative?

Q: What about those Palestinians who argue that Arafat's visit to Cairo, apparently without consulting anybody, is illegal?

A: I think that he should have consulted. I don't know if he was in touch with the PLO Executive Committee and the Fatah Central Committee or not, but if he wasn't, he should have been. From the statement that was issued by the Fatah Central Committee, apparently he had not done that, and I think it would have been appropriate for him to do that.

Q: What would you say to those who are calling for Chairman Arafat's resignation because of his visit to Cairo?

A: I think it's an overreaction, of course...Anyone of us is entitled to call for the resignation of anyone who holds public office in the Palestinian national movement. I think we should learn to respect the constitutional means more than we have demonstrated during the past year.

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OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Pacifists Must Take Sides

by Thoma Shick

Reading the short remarks of Dean McFalls, spokesperson for the Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage, titled "Not Here to Take Sides in Ancient Conflict," I recalled the ancient conflict between spiritual, philosophic pacifists and practical, realistic pacifists. I was also surprised to read these notes of a person who I took — without knowing him personally — to be a practical pacifist, at least based on the very fact of the long-distance march which he took part in and spoke for and the real world-wide nuclear danger against which he and his friends were so practically objecting.

I am afraid that from the beginning I was somewhat misled. It is very easy to protest something general and universal that is real, but not directly and immediately threatening, and at the same time to be blind to actual realities.

The statement of Dean McFalls proves that when people are too deep in their ancient beliefs, they might fall into ancient mistakes. Furthermore, when they resort to services of a so-called Interfaith Society because they trust the "common" and "ancient belief" of "all denominations," then they might be also victims to another ancient trap: propaganda.

Now to the point: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is definitely not an ancient one. It is about 100-104 years old, maybe even less, depending on when one counts the beginning of the political Zionist immigration to Palestine. Furthermore, in spite of the misleading external signs, the issue is not a conflict between religions, in a holy land, but a political conflict on, simply, land. It is true that both belligerents use religion to a certain extent to brainwash their supporters. However, a realistic, rational and, as far as possible, an objective view and analysis would help the Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage people better to understand the situation. It would also help if they had chosen better advisors than the aforementioned and their collaborators. Basically, it would also have been much better if they had done some homework.

I believe in pacifism and non-partisanship but not in neutrality. Neutrality is supporting the powerful. While, of course, I object to violence and terror on both sides of the frontlines and within the respective territories, I wouldn't draw a symmetrical picture. While it is true that some of the Jews who found and founded a home in Palestine/Israel were persecuted, it is also true that many like them didn't chose this country as their solution. On the other hand, many of the Jews who didn't come here because of Hitler, and those who have come here recently because of Zionist ideology and practice, have damaged other people, who happen to be Palestinian Arabs, inhabitants of this country for the last very many hundreds of years.

In my opinion, all these things don't count at all!!

What does count is what any and every component of the conflict wants now. Not trying to find this out, as a real starting point which will carry into the near and distant future, is to blind oneself and others. Not to declare the truth one finds is to collaborate with the occupier. This is hardly pacifist. In my opinion (drawn from the ideas of Gandhi), the first element in pacifism is *truth*, in order to know how to direct the *love* that everyone deserves and is entitled to. But obviously, we love the oppressed and the oppressor in a slightly different way. Another element in pacifism is to *serve*. As pacifists, we wish to serve each and every human being. But again, necessary service is different for the oppressed and the oppressor.

And above all, pacifists should be brave enough to face the truth and speak it, even if it is their friend who commits wrong.

So I have taken sides on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: the local people are invaded and oppressed, facing an attempt at systematic and gradual expulsion; the people who come here from elsewhere are invading and oppressing and participating in the above-mentioned attempt, unless they actively resist it and act against it. Since many of the individuals on the oppressing side are unaware of the real situation, this only adds to their right to a just solution, as victims of a false ideology they are part of. All human beings are entitled to life and true security. However, reality is relative, and we must relate to it as such, even if we wish to solve the problems peacefully and non-violently. Rather, just because we want it to be so, we must face first and foremost reality.

In the Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, there is a phrase that fits the issue exactly: "...it is essential, if people are not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law."

This phrase and statement makes symmetry impossible. As a pacifist, I, of course, advise non-violent rebellion. I do this because every human life is sacred and also because, in my opinion, violence does not benefit the rebels, especially not in the given case. However, I'm not neutral and I expect fellow pacifists not to be so either. In Love and Peace,

— Thoma Shick

To Kill According to the Procedures

by Zvi Barel

Aisha al Bahash, 11, killed by a settler's bullet last December. Such acts can be justified by new Israeli Army directives.

Once, settlers only shot when their lives were in danger. Today, the atmosphere is different.

Today, Ephraim Segal is going to be released from detention. Segal, 26 years old, inhabitant of Elon Moreh settlement, is suspected of committing a grave offence: the murder of Aisha al-Bahash, 11 years old, and the attempted murder of her sister, Fida', who is recovering from bullet wounds. With commendable speed, the (northern West Bank) police located Segal, based on the testimony of passers-by. According to those testimonies, Segal shot in the air at stone-throwers, with his hand leaning on his car — a brown Citroen. Now the police will try to connect him with the shooting committed in the girls' father's bakery that killed one of the girls.

However, the problem is not Ephraim Segal, nor the question of his being brought to court or setting him free. The central problem, it seems, is connected with the question: does the act of whoever killed the child mean there is a new norm for settlers' conduct on the West Bank or is this case exceptional?

Anyone may argue: "Indeed we know the settlers. They have committed punitive acts in the past: they shot in the air in the course of demonstrations, they threw grenades into the house of a widow in Hebron, they shot at demonstrators and also sometimes just shot. Indeed, what's new?"

Facing such a "record", anyone who wanted to could say: "Indeed the norm already exists and the recent case — whether it is connected with Segal or with another Israeli citizen — only adds a little bit more volume to the actual list of activities."

Nevertheless, there is a significant difference between past cases and the recent one. The atmosphere is different and the motivation too. On former occasions, when settlers — or Israeli citizens — shot, it was when they found themselves by chance in demonstrations, direct stone-throwing or in situations that could be included under the term "life threatening." The questions to ask in these cases were: to what extent did they put themselves into a life threatening situation; to what extent could they have avoided getting caught up in a demonstration; and to what extent did they throw themselves into danger in order to justify shooting?

In last Thursday's case (December 8), a new element was added: the chase — or hunt — of suspected stone-throwers. It is no longer a matter of being content with escaping without injury from a threatening situation but a will to catch the guilty. This "impulse" was illegal until three weeks ago. It had been permitted to defend oneself, but the task of catching and punishing was left in the hands of the security forces. About three weeks ago, permission to chase and catch was given. Under tremendous pressure from Kiryat Arba inhabitants and Jewish settlement representatives in the West Bank, an atmosphere was created suitable for granting the permit.

The Israeli Army got fed up — justly — with listening to the repeated complaints about its uselessness in punishing the stone-throwers or even in catching them. The political leadership pressed the army "to do more" — as if this "more" would avoid future stone-throwing.

So the army was pressed between those placed above it and those above whom it is positioned. In order to get out from this, the new central commander, Amnon Shahak (Lipkin), gave the nod to chase and catch. This agreement could have two motives: to say, "let's see you settlers succeed better than the army," or the other — a genuine attempt to get settler help to overcome the trouble. Indeed, the general restricted the permission to allow settlers to chase only when there are no military forces nearby the incident. However, this restriction is not realistic — as the case in Nablus proves. The pursuer or pursuers who killed Aishah al-Bahash on Thursday will be able to support themselves with two arguments:

a. The chase itself was carried out with the agreement of the general, and this justification essentially is enough. They don't have to claim anymore that there was a danger to their lives in order to justify the shooting. Anyway, there is no reason to presume that there was an obvious danger to their lives in the course of the chase or that it was a shooting aimed to save their skins. The legitimation granted by the general, on the one hand, and the will to use this permission to prove that "they can do better than the army," on the other hand, essentially prompted the chase;

b. The restriction of the permission is ineffective; it is true that there were military forces on the site (those who were busy at the same time searching the professional unions in Nablus). However, in the time it would take for the settlers to turn to the army and until they would be free to give chase, the stone-throwers would disappear, and then it would be possible to "accuse" the would-be chasers and ask: "Why didn't you chase them, since you have the permission?"

However, beyond these justifications, the permit to pursue granted a new status to the settlers and to every Israeli citizen who gets into a similar situation: the status of security people for every purpose. From now on it is

continued on page 15

The 200 Palestinians from the 1948 borders sentenced on political charges now have a Prisoner's Friends Association to turn to for legal, medical and financial help. *Al Fajr*'s **Awad Abdel Fattah** found that although the PFA's humanitarian activities are severely limited because of thin resources, they find they are not too small for Israeli authorities to harass.

SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS & THEIR FAMILIES

Until four years ago, Palestinian political prisoners from within the 1948 borders of Israel had no organisation pursuing their affairs in prison or looking after their families, who often face financial problems after the imprisonment of a son or husband.

In 1978, a number of Palestinian and Israeli lawyers, doctors, writers and other personalities from the Galilee and the Triangle met in Nazareth to discuss the idea of setting up a prisoner aid group. The following year, the Prisoner's Friends Association was born. Three sub-committees deal with prisoners' families, medical problems and legal questions. Every year, the general board of the association convenes and discusses present and future activities and plans.

"Our initiative," said Mansur Kardosh, one of the 17 administrative board members, "was motivated by the growing number of Palestinian political prisoners from within the 1948 borders of Israel and their deteriorating conditions inside the prisons."

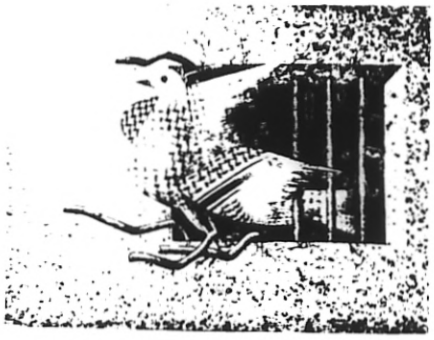
For many prisoners' families, the imprisonment of a son or father means the loss of their sole income. About 50 prisoners' families have been aided by annual grants of US$4000 from the FPA, and 80 prisoners get pocket money of IS1800 a quarter.

"The sums are small, but this is all we can afford," said Kardosh, explaining that all the association's services are dependent on volunteers. The association's budget is met by donations from individuals and organisations, both locally and abroad.

Kardosh told *Al Fajr* that they recently received donations from a number of foreign bodies, including "Share as Brothers," in Belgium, the American Committee on the Middle East and the United Holy Land Fund, both US-based.

Recently, the association decided to give loans to prisoners on their release from jail to help them in the transition between prison and jobs. This year, three prisoners from the Galilee received loans of US$500 on their release.

The association also pays for those newspapers which Israeli authorities permit Palestinian prisoners to read.



How Do The Committees Operate?

The three lawyers who constitute the legal committee visit prisoners in jail to keep abreast of their conditions and needs. They provide a link with their families, relatives or friends.

According to Walid Fahoum, a member of the committee and a regular prison visitor, there are about 200 political prisoners from inside the 1948 borders, "but not all of them ask for help." Fahoum says the small number of Israeli political prisoners are also helped by the association. Among them is Udi Adiv, who is serving a 17-year prison term.

The committee's work can begin only after the prisoner has been tried and sentenced to a prison term. This means that lawyer's fees are not covered by the association except in special cases when the prisoner's family cannot afford a lawyer.

The medical committee works closely with the legal committee. It concentrates on contacts with prison authorities to obtain permits for doctors to visit prisoners. Any prisoner with a health problem communicates his concern via prisoners to legal committee representatives, who immediately report to the medical committee. The long wait for permission from the prison authorities is the usual thing, said Fahoum.

The social committee concentrates on visiting prisoners' families, discussing with them the problems they face and distributing cash.

Making Small Voices Louder

The association "raises the voice of the prisoners and conveys their complaints and grievances through the local and world press," said Aziz Shehadeh, a member of the legal committee. The association keeps in touch with local and foreign journalists who publish stories on the conditions and demands of the Palestinian prisoners. They also hold regular meetings and write protest letters to Israeli officials "in order to explain and clarify the tragedy of the prisoners to the people."

The association is also in constant contact with Amnesty International and other international human rights organisations. At present they are compiling a 260-page book decribing the conditions of prisoners in Israeli jails, prisoners' rights, the activities of the association and reprinting speeches made during annual celebrations of Prisoners Day (April 17).

The FPA's first publication was a small pamphlet about Zakia Shamout, a woman prisoner with five small children effectively orphaned by her imprisonment. The pamphlet, in Hebrew, Arabic and English, was designed to mobilise local and international opinion to pressure the Israeli authorities for her release so that she could return to her children after 12 years of imprisonment on political charges.

Shamout was released in the November 25 prisoner exchange, last year, and the FPA is now working for the family to be reunited.

The association is still growing. It plans to open an administrative and technical office soon to conduct studies on the living conditions of prisoners' families and those of prisoners, as well as starting a programme for prisoners who wish to continue education inside prison. "It's a problem that we do not have accurate figures on families," said Kardosh, "and full data about their social and financial conditions." He notes that there are still families who don't even know about the association's existence. Expansion will have to wait, however, until the association gets sufficient funds for this project.

Israeli Harassment

The FPA has been subjected to various forms of harassment by the Israeli authorities in the current year. One member, lawyer Mohammed Mi'ari, was arrested for several days after returning from the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine, in Geneva, as an official FPA delegate, last September. He had spoken in Switzerland about the conditions of political prisoners before he became one himself. Last spring, the Israeli authorities banned an FPA meeting to mark Prisoners Day. "The meeting," said Kardosh, "was to discuss the conditions of prisoners here and to exchange views about how to improve the services offered to the prisoners by the association."

Association members are determined to continue their work "despite all the harassment and despite the fact that the Israeli prison authorities do not recognise the association," said Walid Fahoum.

Mohammed Mi'ari, Walid Fahoum, both of the FPA's legal committee, Zakia Shamout, former political prisoner now seeking reunion with her family, and Udi Adiv, Israeli political prisoner serving a 17-year term. *Raising the voice of the prisoners.*

With the new Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens in full swing, a chronology of events in the occupied territories during the second half of 1983 shows noticeably greater repression of Palestinians in the form of collective punishments, harsher prison sentences, settler terrorism and deliberate destabilisation of population centres. At the same time, a political offensive was accelerated to reward collaborators and pro-Jordanians for cooperating with the civil-military administration.

Last week, *Al Fajr* published a summary of events from January through June. At least 21 Palestinians died and 78 were reported wounded by soldiers and settlers during the year, and 433,580 dunums of land were confiscated.

LOOKING BACK AT '83

Injured Hebron University student in hospital following July 26 massacre which left three Palestinians dead, 38 wounded (left). The third entrance to Dheisheh camp was sealed by military authorities, November 8. During the year, entrances to Kalandia, al-Arroub and Jalazon camps were similarly blocked.

July

July 1 — Settlers shot at Hebron residents; city curfewed, 60 city figures sent to interrogation.

July 3 — Hebron district bus burned in city centre.

July 5 — Main entrance to Kalandia permanently sealed.

— 5000 dunums claimed by military from Kobar and Beit Illo villages as "absentee" property.

July 7 — Settler stabbed to death in Hebron city centre. Settlers burn city market.

— Hebron municipal council dismissed and replaced by Israeli officer.

— 40 pro-Jordanians denied exit visas to travel to Tunis for meeting with PLO head Arafat.

— High Court turns down appeal by merchants in West Bank and Gaza that value-added taxes imposed by occupation are illegal.

July 8 — Massive peaceful pro-PLO demonstration at al-Aqsa Mosque during Ramadan teargassed. 43 arrested and scores suffered gas inhalation.

July 10 — Fines for political offenses doubled according to military order.

— Palestinian prisoners in Beer Sheba prison strike because they are not allowed visits from family or reading material.

July 14 — Eight more houses in Shate' (Beach) refugee camp, Gaza, destroyed.

July 17 — Three settlers broke into Khaled Ibn al-Walid Mosque, near Kiryat Arba.

July 19 — Israeli Army confirms that at least 44 bodies of non-Israeli Lebanon war dead were dumped at Galilee site after information was disclosed by US journalist.

— Arourah village loses 350 dunums to Israeli expropriation.

July 20 — Abd al-Majed Darwish's family home on Mount of Olives demolished by Jerusalem municipality on a charges of being built without a license.

— 3000 dunums seized from al-Mazra'a al-Qibliya village in the West Bank.

July 21 — Settlers burn 200 dunums of fruit trees in Beit Lid.

July 22 — Three main entrances to Jalazon camp sealed.

July 23 — 800 political prisoners in Jenin go on hunger strike to protest mistreatment.

July 26 — Masked men attack Hebron University with grenades and indiscriminate gunfire, killing three Palestinians, Sa'ad al-Din Sabri, his brother-in-law Jamal Nazzal and Samih Amour, and injuring 38.

— Ilham Abu Zarour, 20, shot to death by settler on main Nablus street. Her cousin, Miriam, was wounded.

— Settlers destroy Abd al-Hafez Ja'abari's house in Hebron in midnight operation.

July 27-28 — Widespread demonstrations and total commercial strike to protest Hebron attack. Four Bir Zeit University students shot by soldiers dispersing demonstrators. All Arabic dailies confiscated.

just

Aug. 1 — *Al Fajr* Arabic office firebombed.

— 600 Beduin are evicted from Tel al-Milh in the Naqab to make way for an Israeli military airport

Aug. 2 — Two BZU students given 18-month sentences for participating in a demonstration protesting Hebron University attack July 27.

Aug. 4 — Tax men raid Old City cobblers, confiscate accounts and cash and bring 20 shoemakers for interrogation.

Aug. 5 — Old City home of Abd al-Jawad Shehadeh ordered destroyed.

Aug. 7 — BZU student gets 2-year sentence and 7 others 18 months for stone-throwing in a July 27 demonstration to protest Hebron massacre.

Aug. 8 — Musa Abu Hassirah, of Jaffa, lost his home and 10 dunums of fruit trees to Israeli bulldozers in a dawn demolition operation.

— 10,000 dunums seized from Lubban al-Sharqiyeh to be afforested and given to Israeli settlers in Shilo.

Aug. 9 — 500 BZU students demonstrate against extremely harsh prison sentences given demonstrators.

Aug. 10 — Ras Attiyeh resident, in Tulkarm district, shot and injured by two Israelis who broke into his house.

Aug. 13 — Three bombs dismantled near the Islamic court in East Jerusalem.

Aug. 15 — Prisoners in 11 prisons went on a one-day hunger strike in solidarity with striking women prisoners.

— Forty al-Bireh businessmen meet with Shlomo Elia, Israeli 'civil administration' head of the West Bank. The meeting was boycotted by 30 invitees.

— Over 750 vocational institute graduates boycott Jordanian-issued comprehensive exam.

Aug. 16 — The license of the Jerusalem-based bi-monthly magazine *al-Shira'* was revoked, banning the publication.

— Mohammed Hamamreh, 6, was killed instantly and his cousin, Mohammed Abu Amus, 8, later died of wounds from a grenade explosion in Husan village, Bethlehem. 17 more bombs were found after a police search.

Aug. 21 — Israeli soldiers raided a cultural week exhibit at the Islamic University, Gaza.

— Palestinian national figures condemn King Hussein's statement to US papers that the PLO lost its legitimacy because of the rift in Fatah.

Aug. 22 — Arens meets Bethlehem Mayor Freij, Salman Astal, mayor of Khan Yunis in Gaza, and Hikmat Masri, Najah University chairman, to discuss municipalities' future.

— Israeli High Court endorses military decision to destroy two houses in Kufr Malek and Beit Illo and seal three others in Kufr Malek. Family members had been sentenced for the assassination of Village Leaguer Yusef Khatib.

Aug. 24 — Israeli bulldozers destroy 12 houses in Rafah refugee camp to force resettlement.

Aug. 26 — Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka'a was denied an exit visa to attend the UN Geneva Conference on the Question of Palestine.

Aug. 28 — Yusuf Idkedek, Najah student, died from an explosive device in Beit Jala.

— Soldiers break into Beit Sahour Greek Orthodox Club and confiscate posters and books.

Aug. 29 — Military seals a room in Ahmad Fahmawi's home, in Jenin, after his son was arrested for arson of collaborator's car.

— Israel 'civil administration' hosts party for Jamil Amleh, new head of Hebron Village League.

Aug. 30 — New Israeli mayor of Hebron orders demolition of 3-storey building near Ibrahimi Mosque.

— Houses sealed in Jenin; sons arrested for uprooting settlement trees.

Aug. 31 — The military forced nine Jenin teachers and principals to retire for unspecified political reasons.

September

Sept. 2 — Rujib resident, involved in land sales to settlers, shot dead by unknown assailants in his house.

— Settlers break into Arab house in Upper Nazareth and threaten family to leave town as anti-Arab incidents increase.

— 10 shops in Rafah demolished without compensation for 'rezoning'.

Sept. 3 — Forty-two prisoners at Gaza detention station shot at by soldiers after collaborator pushed from window.

Sept. 4 — Mustafa Dudeen resigns as Village League federation head.

Sept. 6 — Hebron military governor orders Muslim officials to schedule prayers for Jewish settler-worshippers at Ibrahimi Mosque.

Sept. 9 — Another 1500 dunums was grabbed from Safa village, Ramallah district.

Sept. 12 — Lawyers sit in at Ramallah court to protest deteriorating rule of law in occupied territories, in first protest action since 1967.

— Beit Kafil residents issue formal protest against newly imposed Village League.

Sept. 14 — Widespread demonstrations in Gaza to commemorate Sabra-Shatila massacres.

Sept. 15 — Group taxi or bus transport made contingent on military approval.

Sept. 16 — Nabil Darwish, 35, shot in armed attack in Balata camp.

— Four youths wounded by grenade thrown in a Hebron shop. All were hospitalised and arrested.

— Massive funeral in Golan for Syrian nationalist and Druze leader Kamal Kanj.

Sept. 18 — Twenty-four arrested as Sabra-Shatila demonstration in Jerusalem is forcibly broken up by police. Curfews and arrests followed demonstrations in Nablus, Bethlehem, refugee camps and in Galilee and the Triangle.

Mid-September — Military implements Order 1015 requiring military control over crop cultivation.

— UNRWA forbids any house construction in camps without permit.

Sept. 21 — Israelis cancel court appeal brought by Hebron's dismissed municipality to halt settler construction.

— Assassination attempt against Jawdat Sawalha, temporary head of Village League Federation, near Nablus.

Sept. 24 — Samu' village, in Hebron, loses 50,000 dunums in expropriation move.

— 400 former residents of Bir'im march through the destroyed village to demonstrate their desire to return.

Sept. 25 — Two soldiers and three Palestinians injured by grenade attack on patrol in Nablus centre. 30 arrested, 4 shops ordered closed and city curfewed.

Sept. 26 — Government school teachers need military permits to work a second job.

Sept. 27 — 40 migrant workers' homes ordered demolished in Jordan Valley.

October

Oct. 2 — 45 youths from Ya'abad summoned for interrogation at Jenin headquarters.

Oct. 4 — Yusef Shaban, 17, stabbed to death by Israeli on Jerusalem bus.

— Two houses sealed in Aida camp and one in Kufr Malek.

Oct. 6 — Mohammed Attiyeh, 25, found dead from an explosion near Nablus.

Oct. 7 — Child killed as Israeli bulldozer demolishes house in Rafah camp.

— 250 dunums taken from Beit Sahour for military purposes to enlarge Israeli military camp.

Oct. 9 — 20,000 dunums of Jordan riverfront land confiscated in 1967 for 'security zone' changed to agricultural land for settlements.

— Palestinian students at Haifa Technion strike to protest discrimination in educational policy and housing.

Oct. 10 — Soldiers destroy 13 vegetable stands in al-Bireh market on a charge of "disrupting public order."

Mid-October — 1000 dunums seized in Agraba, near Nablus.

Oct. 19 — Settlers destroy car in Dheisheh refugee camp.

Oct. 20 — Israelis arrange meeting between settlers and some residents of Hebron to legitimise settler demands on the city.

— Two stone-cutting shops destroyed: Mohammed Fawar's, near Khadr, and Abd al-Rahman Fanoun's, near Bethlehem. No reasons were given the owners.

Oct. 21 — Midnight raid on Bethlehem University.

Oct. 23 — Israeli military court sentences five Islamic University students to 5-24 months in prison for running on a "National Student Bloc" ticket in student elections.

Oct. 24 — West Bank government teachers ask for 100 percent pay increase to keep up with Israeli inflation and devaluation.

Oct. 25 — Elections in 46 Galilee and Triangle villages.

Oct. 27 — West Bank health workers demand pay rises to Israeli wage scale.

— 19 Bethlehem students arrested, including entire student council. Bethlehem students declare a three-day strike in protest.

Oct. 28 — Settlers smash windows of bus, cars in Bir Zeit. Arson attempt thwarted.

— Two stores in Nablus closed for three months near site of stone-throwing.

Oct. 29 — Kufr Qassem massacre, 1956, commemorated by rally at village mosque.

Oct. 31 — Neve Tertza women prisoners teargassed.

November

Early November — Two hundred dunums seized from landowners in Jamma'in as 'government property'.

Nov. 1 — Nablus school public library raided and books and art work confiscated.

Nov. 2 — Balfour Day: Nabil Jaradat, 19, shot when soldiers opened fire on Sa'ir students raising flag above school; seven camps put under curfew; two UNRWA schools closed for one week.

— Bethlehem University closed for two months on charge of "organising a cultural festival" which included "inciting" material, after a week of clashes between soldiers and students.

Nov. 3 — 3000 dunums grabbed in Yamoun, near Nablus.

Nov. 4 — The four main Palestinian women's committees hold a joint sit-in at the Red Cross in support of striking women prisoners.

Nov. 5-7 — Youths from the Triangle sentenced to 18 months for demonstrating on Sabra-Shatila anniversary.

Nov. 5 — 4000 dunums taken near Jeeb, Tulkarm area.

Nov. 6 — Isma'il Hamdan's home in Issawiyya, outside Jerusalem, destroyed for "lack of building permit."

Nov. 7 — East Jerusalem strikes in support of Arafat. Rallies throughout West Bank and a call by national institutions for an end to Tripoli fighting.

Nov. 8 — Soldiers seal two new entrances in Dheisheh camp during curfew after two days of protest by residents.

Nov. 9 — Bir Zeit University acting-President Baramki held for 12 hours on 'incitement' charges.

Nov. 12 — Amer Salameh, 20, and Ibrahim Bishara, 22, shot dead when soldiers opened fire on youths in Tulkarm; three others arrested. Funerals ordered after midnight. Locals disclaim Israeli charge that youths were demonstrating.

Nov. 13 — Settlers shoot three youths in Dheisheh camp; four camps curfewed and hundreds interrogated in late-night round-ups.

Nov. 14 — News blackout on shooting death of 20-year-old Jabaliya camp youth in Gaza.

Nov. 16 — 1500 dunums grabbed from Ramallah, Beitunia and Rafat for a military camp.

Nov. 17 — Two Gaza youths wounded during Israeli attack on demonstration.

— 4-6000 dunums of cultivated land seized from 60 Beit Ula villagers, Hebron district, as 'government property'.

Nov. 18 — 3000 Palestinians attend funeral of political prisoner Abu Jamal Maraghi, who died in Beer Sheba prison.

— Military orders students arrested for political offences to be permanently expelled from school.

Nov. 20 — Israeli minister without portfolio Ben Porat discloses plan to liquidate refugee camps.

— Kiryat Arba settlers rampage for five hours in Halhoul, smashing windows of vehicles and homes, after an Israeli bus is stoned.

Nov. 21 — Dheisheh camp residents hold press conference to describe three weeks of "ghetto-like oppression."

Nov. 24 — Settlers beat Halhoul youths.

Nov. 25 — Israelis reopen Bethlehem University three weeks after it was ordered closed for two months, due to international pressure.

— 2000 dunums grabbed in Kharas village, Hebron, from 30 families near the 'green line'.

— Jerusalem court orders 13 homes destroyed. Land claimed to have been bought by Israeli company in 1936.

Nov. 27 — *Al Wahda* newspaper's license withdrawn by Israeli authorities.

— New military measures announced for occupied territories: more soldiers and more sophisticated technology.

Nov. 28 — Settler stabbed in Nablus produce market; over 100 Nablus residents arrested, Askar camp and three villages curfewed. Two Najah University guards beaten by settlers and a bus burned.

— Village Leaguers burn two cars in Beit Illo village.

Nov. 29 — Settlers establish "command post" in Nablus centre at mosque near Nebi Yusef tomb.

— International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People marked by strikes, rallies.

Nov. 30 — Five dunums of orange groves destroyed in Qalqiliya because stonings took place near them.

December

Dec. 1 — Forty settler-students in Old City rampage against Arab shops and residents, injuring four.

Dec. 2 — Three Gaza workers shot by soldiers at checkpoint when their transport vehicle did not hear an order to stop.

— Greek Catholic priest, Father Fawzi Khoury, from Fasouta, Galilee, released after one month detention without charge.

Dec. 8 — Settlers shot dead Aisha Bahash, 11, and wounded her sister, Fida', 9, in a Nablus bakery.

— Over 30 teachers and students arrested at al-Hashimiya school in al-Bireh after protest against visit by Shlomo Elia.

Dec. 9 — Six cars in al-Thowri village burned by Israeli terror group TNT.

Dec. 10 — 290 dunums in the Mt. of Olives grabbed for Jewish cemetery.

Dec. 11 — Three homes destroyed and three sealed in Ramallah and Hebron of families of youths suspected of stabbing settler in June.

Dec. 12 — One grenade explodes, 2 others defused at homes in Husan, near Bethlehem, booby-trapped by Israeli terror group TNT.

— Soldiers shot dead farmer Dhib Daba'ak as he ran away from a patrol approaching his field.

Dec. 20 — Mosque and convent bombed in Azzariya, wounding two. TNT claimed responsibility.

Dec. 21 — Three cars arsoned in Jerusalem.

Dec. 30 — Mosque in Hebron bombed.

"Racism" is an ugly word and a discomforting charge, one that Zionists must elude with ever increasing cleverness and convoluted argument. In this piece by Zvi Shilo'an racism becomes "Arab-Jewish asymmetry" where "it is simply natural that we act as in war." It is then only one short logical step from legitimising settler violence and population

CONFUSION IN NAZARETH

Many of the people of Upper Nazareth object to the entry of Arab residents into their town, which was established as a Hebrew town. When David Ben Gurion resigned the first time (and retired) to Sde Boker, he emphasised projects for the next government which were written into 18 articles. The last one suggested establishing a new Hebrew town next to old Nazareth, in order to break Arab hegemony in the area north of Arab Nazareth, which could become a security problem. Prime Minister Moshe Sharett... agreed. Defence Minister Pinhas Lavon started execution of the plan, which aimed at absorbing new immigrants according to population distribution theories that were then accepted by everybody.

The populating of Upper Nazareth had a pioneering aim, though a lot of the new residents went there for economic reasons and to improve their housing conditions. However, it was always so. Not all the people of the first immigration were filled with pioneering spirit, but they were a part of the pioneering enterprise.

Now, as the economic development of the state of Israel has brought tremendous improvement in the situation of Nazareth Arabs, many of them wish to (leave) their old Arab town for the new Hebrew town. When Jewish inhabitants object to this, they are accused of racism and are immediately asked what American Jews, for instance, would say if white Anglo Saxon Protestant inhabitants stopped them from moving into their areas — asking, and forgetting to indicate, that Jews, like others, left well-to-do quarters in droves when the first black families started to penetrate them. The Jews, as is well remembered, were counted among the most enthusiastic supporters of the black civil rights movement, and their leaders didn't identify with the PLO like (black civil rights leader and candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for US president Rev. Jesse) Jackson.

Why? Because in life there is sometimes an essential contradiction between dry justice and the concrete conditions of the quality of life. Only hypocrites ignore the existence of this factor in the individual's life. An intellectual woman may invite the Arab spokeswoman from the "Encounters" programme on the television to live in her flat, but if the whole of her apartment block was full of Arabs, it is doubtful whether she would wish to live in her flat. We, anyway, shall not consider her as a racist but as one who also thinks about the possibility of terrorist activity or about any other tension that might be caused, for instance, when in the same building a family will lose a son in the war.

When, 20 years ago, a stormy dispute burst out in Kibbutz Ha'Artzi (the Mapan kibbutz organisation) about the marriage of a kibbutz daughter with an Arab, they went to Meir Ya'ari (the old leader of Mapam) to ask for his opinion and he stated: "In principle — yes; in this generation — no!"

And in this connection there is apparently a logical question: indeed, while the Jews object to an Arab population in their towns, they, or anyway a part of them, claim (the right) to settle Hebron and Nablus. And then there is the question: what is this? Mine is mine and yours is mine? This question too is sealed with shallowness.

Those asking the question are ignoring the basis of Jewish-Arab asymmetry, like, for instance, in the matter of stone-throwing. Jews in Tel Aviv and in every place of residence never have thrown stones at Arabs, even on days of severe tension. Every Arab knows this. However, Arabs did throw stones at Jewish buses during Mandate times and they have been continuing this into the period of the state of Israel.

Why? Because the Arabs have objected to the Zionist entity and have not accepted, to this day, the existence of the Jewish state in their region. And if there are some who have accepted it, they are rare and only those under our domination, or minorities in a similar situation to our own. In the distant Mandate times, we knew this and didn't give up the (right of) residence for Jews in Safad, Tiberias, Haifa and Jerusalem. On the contrary, we increased the Yishuv (the name of the Zionist movement in Palestine) in these towns and wanted Jews also to live in Acre and Lydda. And we didn't let Arabs live in our Moshavoth (agricultural townships). And nobody appealed that.

There was no Jew who didn't desire and expect the realisation of Zionism in the utopian spirit of Herzl. But the Arabs rejected, and are still rejecting, our return to Zion. The Israeli-Arab war has not ended, and it's doubtful it will stop in our generation. In addition to the settlement of the country, which is the essence of Zionism, we are forced also to hold strongholds in this war because we don't have, like the Arabs, 22 states in which to found ourselves a national home. The division of the country hasn't solved the question and won't solve it. When we accepted, as an imperative, the tearing off of the eastern bank of the Jordan, many people thought that with that division, the Arabs would accept the return of the Jews to the western part of the country. The Arabs didn't accept it. They also didn't agree to the failing division in 1947. Since the struggle has not ended, it is simply natural that we act as in war: i.e. we fortify what we have and conquer new strategic strongholds.

If there comes a day — and it will come when we are much more established than we are now — when the Arabs accept the existence of the independent state of Israel, then the 5000 square kilometres in (the West Bank) and the Gaza (Strip) will not constitute a problem. Then it will also be possible to plan population transfers, a matter some of the forefathers of Zionism and the Zionist Labour Movement dreamed about. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, December 19, 1983)

continued from page 16

Elyakim Ha'etzmi

A: It depends to a very large degree on how important we think it is, how much effort we are ready to put into it, which is a direct consequence of the gravity of the situation.

Regarding the stone-throwers, if the government can repress this by other means then that will be fine. But if the army doesn't succeed, then there will be massive Jewish retaliation.

Q: In what sense?

A: You already have had it: stone-throwing on Arab cars and attacking Arab houses. For example, stones hit a bus, the people left the bus, entered the Arab house and destroyed everything in it. This didn't even appear in the newspaper. This happens many, many times.

Q: So this is your leverage against the government — violence?

A: No, no. It is the danger of a situation where there is spiralling Arab excesses and Jewish retaliation. No government could survive it. We would then say to the government that it is more peaceful and more legal to deport Arab stone-throwers to Jordan.

We will react to Arab attacks. We have a whole list of recommendations, not just deportations. We have the upper hand over the government because we live here. So if the government doesn't let the steam off in some legal way, there will be a violent reaction. But the problem is not ours, it is the government's.

Q: Aren't you worried that the army will be used against you as it was in the Sinai?

A: The army will not do anything against us. It is not possible in Judea and Samaria because the military of Israel happens to be Jewish. The government will not be able to use the army in Judea and Samaria.

Q: You don't think that Washington could force the government to act against you?

A: Yes, but will they be able to force every individual soldier? How do you think Judea and Samaria was opened to Jewish settlement during the Labour government, when they opposed settlements? Why did Rabin and Peres open up the settlements? Why? Because all attempts to use the military against Gush Emunim failed. The military simply refused to obey orders. Don't you know this? There were all these attempts to settle places illegally and the military tried to stop it. How did the settlers evade the roadblocks; how did they get the pre-fabricated houses pass the roadblocks and to the settlements? How?! How did they break the policy of the *Ma'arach* (the Labour Party Alignment)? I was there! Soldiers in the army wouldn't stop us! It was through them we passed! There are always people in the army who will support us. Washington can always force the Israeli government but it can not force the soldiers on the street.

Q: Is that spirit still alive here today?

A: Of course. It is more alive year by year. If America put economic sanctions against Israel, we would annex the West Bank immediately. To uproot us from here you will have to bring in your Marines.

Topography of the Coming Defeat

By Hasan Abu Libdeh

Surprise and fear made people run into streets. Shopkeepers left their shops and joined the overflowing stream of people... residents spontaneously left their homes... children's cries and women's wails burst into the clamour and bells rang irregularly... the usually deserted road leading to the mukhtar's house was crammed with villagers... more than 10 women aborted in reaction to the terrible news.

The head of the crowd wound to the mukhtar's house and frightened him with their noise. He went out barefoot to see what was happening and observed waves of people moving in hysterical motion towards his house. "Do they want to topple me... riff-raff," he said to himself, attempting to control his nerves. He angrily waved his hand to stop them. "What is this unjustified anarchy... what do you want?" he shouted, while climbing up his house wall.

"Our end is coming, Mukhtar..."
"God laid his violent hand on us."
"It is magic."
"No, I saw them with my own eyes!"
" What should we do?"
"I never saw anything like it."

"Mukhtar... what, where, how... mercy on us, we are finished, so many dead, I saw them with my own eyes... who... dead... skelet-let-let-let-ons... skel-l-l..."

"Shut up!" the mukhtar shouted at them.

"Damn you all, you no-accounts. I do not understand... tell me what happened exactly."

"Mukhtar... I... I... I am the first person who saw them... I w-w-w- will s-s-s-say..."

"What happened? Tell me why you stutter, as if somebody is kicking you!!"

"Hundred of skeletons are advancing towards the village. I saw them with my own eyes... No dead remain in the eastern and western cemeteries. All have left their graves and have come to surround the village... Mukhtar, I heard them talking. They are like us... They sing banned songs..."

"What... dead... skeletons... are you crazy?" the mukhtar shouted.

"We saw them with our own eyes," more than one person shouted.

"Let me see for myself," the mukhtar said, attempting to control his knocking knees.

* * * * *

The clamour was loudest at the cemetery... The skeletons rose from their coffins, shaking the long years of dust... Each skeleton moved towards the cemetery gate, waiting for instructions from a half-grey, decaying skeleton.

It was easy to see the disciplined behaviour with which the skeletons conducted themselves as they lined themselves up according to their seniority, by date of death. One of the recent dead, whose flesh was still visible, moved to the gate and said: "I am the last one, commander."

"Well," the commander addressed the skeletons, "The instructions are clear... Do not hurt anybody... Do not take any step on your own before receiving instructions from the committee commanding this campaign... These instructions are directed especially to those who were killed unjustly... We do not want any act of vengeance. We will be an example of discipline for the living... The decisive hour is coming."

The skeletons started moving towards the village... Their steps had a special echo, mixed with sounds of skeletons coming from the second cemetery. A woman skeleton started singing, and other skeletons craned their necks to see while they hastened towards the village. The skeletons stopped 200 metres away from the village gate and awaited instructions. Many skeletons redeployed themselves in units of fire. Other skeletons started dancing and singing. Some skeletons started removing worms from their bones, and child skeletons surrounded an old skeleton, who started telling stories about the besieged town.

* * * * *

Roads in the village were deserted... The wind blew sharply, distributing skeleton smells... The village gates were closed, and dozens of the mukhtar's soldiers were stationed on the walls, carrying their rifles. However, it was easy to hear their teeth grinding... Houses were firmly bolted, and villagers peeped at the skeletons from windows and door openings... Children and some grown-ups gave little shrieks. The mukhtar was alone, roaming through the village's streets. He was facing a most dangerous test before the frightened villagers. "I thought about everything except this," he told himself and walked towards a military fortification erected on top of the wall. Outside, the skeletons continued dancing and singing.

The mukhtar stared at the skeletons one after the other as his face reddened with congested blood. "Damn... Is it possible that they learned that *Khawaja* Salim bought the land the graves are on from me?.. No, it is impossible. Nobody knew about that deal. Do the dead know it? Or is it possible that they learned that we granted *Khawaja* Salim honourary citizenship in this village?... No, it is not their business if the living agreed... Oh, no, no... What's this disgusting betrayal?.. Where is *Khawaja* Salim? Where is *Khawaja* Salim? Where is the telephone?" The mukhtar rushed to his house, swearing that *Khawaja* Salim would wipe out the outlaw skeletons.

* * * * *

The white flag was hoisted high... Three skeletons were banging firmly on the ground and then walked to the gate. One was carrying a folded paper and grasping in his other hand a leg of a giant skeleton. The second skeleton was carrying the white flag. The third one was carrying skulls and clavicles to defend his group. The din in the village increased after news spread of the skeleton delegation. Dozens of men climbed the wall carrying their guns... The mukhtar put his soldiers on alert and directed the heavy artillery towards the delegation.

The mukhtar was very nervous listening to his officers' reports. "Perhaps they are searching for a friendly atmosphere in our village." "Perhaps they want to build a wall around their cemetery to prevent trespassers from coming in." "Perhaps they are demanding improvements for their cemetery so that it is equal to other cemeteries in other towns." "Perhaps they want to extend electricity and water pipes to their tombs." "Perhaps one resident of the village committed an offence against them and they want to punish him." "No... no... Perhaps they did not like the routine of life in the cemetery and want to invade our village."

The mukhtar shook his head in astonishment and went to the main gate after he gave orders to shoot at the skeletons if there were suspicious signs. The delegation stood a few metres away from the gate. The pale-faced and knock-kneed mukhtar went out. The skeleton gave him a paper, addressing him:

"Oh mukhtar... We are the delegation for the dead representing thousands of dead... We send to you our demands which must be met within 48 hours. We warn you if you delay."

"De... de... demands... What demands... you... you... You are the dead, you are the dead."

"This is your belief and that of the village residents... And this is what usually happens if we loosen your rope to this extent... We are ashamed of your behaviour... Anyway, we do not have time to waste. These are our demands."

"Demands," the mukhtar opened his mouth. The three skeletons stretched their necks, looked at the soldiers on the wall and turned their backs to the village. One soldier attempted to open fire at the skeletons but was stopped. The weary mukhtar turned back to his village. People and soldiers rushed to find out the skeletons' demands. The mukhtar calmed them, went away and warned everyone not to get near him. He opened the paper and shakingly began reading:

"To the village mukhtar and his collaborators: If you do not carry out the following demands by 12:00 noon tomorrow, we will place the village under our control. Our demands are:

— That you withdraw the citizenship given to *Khawaja* Salim, which violates the basic norms of village history;

— That you cancel the cemetery sale deal. *Khawaja* Salim bought the cemetery to throw out our bones and to exploit its lands;

— That the mukhtar be deported and individual dictatorship be abolished and be replaced by collective leadership;

— That the historic state of the village be changed to what it was 60 years ago when martyr Shaker Hakim died defending the future of his village;

—That the the spirit of sacrifice be evoked through the villagers to love their homeland and its glories.

"Residents of the village: It is not our practise to postpone or delay the warning. We demand that you deal seriously with our demands. If you do not carry out our demands, we will break into the village and deport you all or bury you in our cemetery. At the same time,we will live in your village.

"Residents of the village: Use your minds and do not let the mukhtar play with you. *Kawaja* Salim is not able to protect you."

In the names of residents of the graves,
Asil Sabrini
The first dead and wisest man in the cemetery
November 8, 1900

* * * * *

"We did not know that *Khawaja* was a partner."

"It was not enough that you honoured him with citizenship, but you sold our graves too... Oh, oppressor... The blood of our grandfather Shaker Haj has not dried yet... Damn you, mukhtar. What can *Khawaja* do for us to save us from the attacks of these skeletons? You said to us: 'Grant him citizenship.' We said: 'Amen.' And he became a citizen. Why did you gave him our graves?"

"What should we do to face this disaster? The rotten stifling smell is causing villagers to suffer. What should we do, Mukhtar, to stop this disaster? *Khawaja* Salim, come to save us. Oh blood of our grandfather, be a witness that we attempted to stop the mukhtar. We are all threatened, all threatened. Do not listen to the mukhtar. Drop your guns and save your skins. We should carry out their demands." The mukhtar was astonished at this opposition and angry when he saw descendents of Shaker Haj leave the walls. He issued an order to arrest them all.

* * * * *

Darkness was creeping into the village, and silence controlled everything... The residents' eyes could be seen behind closed windows and screens. Rifle muzzles could be seen in holes. The dead's deadline was closing. The mukhtar's soldiers grasped their rifles

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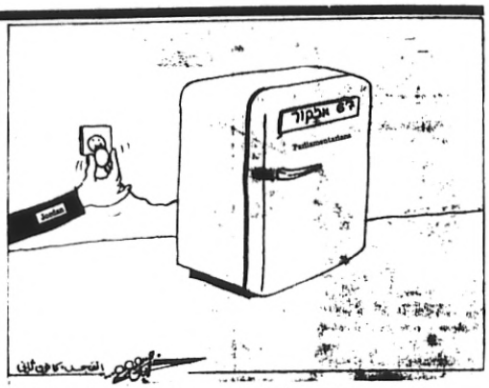
WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Palestinian newspapers continued to focus this week on meetings of Palestinian leaders in Tunis. The conclusion of the meetings of the Fatah Central Committee and the start of the PLO Executive Committee were given prominance.

Al Quds daily focussed on the reconvening of the Jordanian parliament and the various Palestinian and Jordanian official statements regarding the issue.



Total Agreement

From what was reported on the meetings of the Fatah Central Committee, there seems to have been unanimous agreement and a new strategy for Palestinian policy in this difficult and crucial point of our history.

We have said and would like to repeat that our people has its legitimate institutions and organisations through which every one of us can express an opinion on what he believes is the right thing to do in order for our people to achieve its goals in liberation, independence and nation building.

The struggle is continuing in spite of the difficulty, the depth of the wound and the conspiracies in which certain Arab parties, wrongly considered progressive, revolutionary and nationalistic, got involved.

Now, after leaving Tripoli and with the change in the international equation by knowing who the friend is and who the foe is, the highest-ranking Palestinian organ has pronounced its position based on the existing political reality without relinquishing the goals, because we live now in a challenging world where the rigidity of policy does not agree with the reality.

AL SHA'AB
January 3

The Warning or the Resignation

Our people concentrated their attention on the meetings of the Fatah Central Committee in Tunisia, waiting for the results of these meetings expected to touch on the "deviationist" move by Yasir Arafat.

The three-man committee of the Central Committee came out with results that sound like a condemnation but, until this moment, are still very soft. The decision gave Arafat two choices: either accept the warning and admit his mistake or submit his resignation.

We also hear that the Central Committee came out in support of Arafat. But we say that there is no use in warning and reprimanding Arafat. He should be asked to resign because his approach in meeting the Camp David regime cannot be changed by warnings but will lead him into other similar moves. This will threaten the Fatah movement and the PLO.

If Arafat returns to head the PLO, it means a decision was made to split the PLO. This is simply because the rest of the Palestinian groups' members of the PLO have already condemned the visit and the way Arafat approached it. The representatives of the Palestinian groups are refusing to go to Tunisia to meet with Arafat as head of their Executive Committee.

AL MITHAQ
January 4

No Retreat

The picture certain pro-US Arab regimes want to draw for the Palestinian movement is becoming clear.

Ussama al-Baz did not go on vacation to Amman and Baghdad. He would not have gone there if his leaders were not confident they would find people who would listen to the Camp David tune and that the leaders of those two states could be counted upon to approve the "American solutions." Nor would he have gone without signs from Washington that there should be some kind of coordination between Mubarak's Egypt and its friends prior to the arrival of the Reagan envoy carrying "new proposals" regarding the "political moves" based on the Reagan Plan.

It is also not a coincidence that "members of the old Parliament" have been asked to travel to Amman as soon as possible after King Hussein declared that there will be a "return of parliamentarian life" after it was stopped, as he said, for several years.

It is obvious this is an attempt to take advantage of the current situation among the Palestinians. It was said that Yasir Arafat will visit Amman and resume dialogue with Jordan. But the latter did not wait and went ahead looking for old "addresses," originally Jordanian addresses which came to the Parliament after they passed the Jordanian intelligence tests before 1967 and who represent only a very small number of the West Bank people.

So the choices are either to accept the Jordanian solution, which has been rejected, or to follow the few parliamentarians who cannot be trusted and have no right to speak for the Palestinians.

Those who are calculating this way and use pressure on the bridges and at the intelligence offices are wrong to believe that things will be decided as easily as was the case during the Jericho conference.

AL TALIA
January 5

The PLO Has Sole Legitimacy

It was natural that many questions were asked in the occupied Arab lands in particular, and the rest of the world in general, regarding the recent Jordanian moves, which included dissolving the National Consultative Council and calling for an extraordinary session of the former parliament.

It was the invitation of the parliament members residing in the West Bank to travel to Amman at this particular time that was the centre of controversy.

Because we would like to see the Palestinian-Jordanian relation take the right path, we would like to summarise the clear position of the West Bank Palestinians in the following important points:

— The PLO will always remain the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people everywhere. No other alternative is acceptable.

— Every political move by the Palestinian leadership, at all levels, is the only thing acceptable to and supported by the citizens of the West Bank.

— The trip to Amman of the parliamentarians living in the West Bank does in no way mean that they have been delegated by the West Bank people to speak on their behalf or represent them. Therefore, any move in this direction will never be accepted.

— Palestinian-Jordanian relations are close to our hearts and we hope for the building of strong fraternal relations based on equality, taking into consideration the independence of the Palestinian decision within the framework of the legitimate representation of the PLO.

From this clear position of the West Bank Palestinians, we would like to say to all those who believed that by withdrawing from Tripoli the PLO has lost its legitimacy that they were wrong. Palestinian legitimacy was born of the people's will and is not a commodity to be sold or played with by any party. The Palestinian people has and still is suffering a great deal to guarantee its representation on the international level and to win many political gains. The battle of Tripoli was nothing more than one scene in the series of battles for the independence of the Palestinian decision. This will make it difficult for anyone to rob this independence or encircle the PLO.

AL FAJR
January 6

Meetings of Denunciation and Justification

Two days ago, the Fatah Central Committee ended its meetings in Tunis. A few days earlier, the Military Council concluded its meetings also. In Damascus, members of the Palestine National Council residing there ended a meeting of their own. Between all these meetings, dozens, even hundreds, of side meetings were held.

The PLO Executive Committee will convene soon; Fatah may hold its own general conference; commanders hold meetings in Damascus every day. Soon the Palestine National Council will convene, and then Palestinian envoys will travel to other nations to explain their views.

It seems the Palestinian meetings, regardless of their structure or who is participating, are held either to condemn or justify, or, in the best cases, to add more vagueness. They also mention the occupied territories and their citizens at the beginning or end of their statements and reaffirm their support for these people and the land.

We in the occupied lands are used to all of this. Because of all these meetings, we are only concerned now with those holding the meetings, not with their decisions. This is because we have gained enough experience of what comes out of these meetings. The decisions reaffirm the unity of the Palestinian movement and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and an independent state — all on paper; but in reality, we heard and saw what happened in Nahr al-Barid, Baddawi and Tripoli, and heard how some Palestinian parties claimed that Arafat's departure from Tripoli along with his men was a victory. Then we saw the commanders turn the symbol of the Palestinian movement into nothing more than an out-of-line leader. Every day we live through Israeli measures aimed at enforcing a certain reality on the occupied land.

Then we hear about all these meetings that turned into meetings of "hugging and kissing."

We say that we believe in the unity of the Palestinian movement and believe in our right to self-determination and a free state. But we still have to wonder, when are we going to know the way to achieve these hopes?

AL QUDS
January 7

The Fall of the Shamir Government

The Shamir-Arens-Orgad government is facing several dangers which threaten to bring it down. After the ministers agreed in general to cut nine percent of the state budget, it was time for each department to cut nine percent of its own budget. This is where the problem started. The minister of work and social welfare declared that there is no way he can cut his budget and on the contrary, it needs increasing. The Tehiyah party announced that it will leave the ruling coalition if its colonial settlement budget is cut. Deputy Prime Minister David Levy is trying to appear like a person concerned with the people's affairs. Minister Arens is getting some military men to insist that cutting his budget would mean hurting Israel's military power.

All these splits and diversions and the threat of leaving the coalition should be considered as part of the power struggle. This split reflects the increased anger of the people because of the economic crisis, unparalleled in the history of this state, and because of the continuing mad adventures in Lebanon, which have killed the state's economy in addition to hundreds of Israeli youths.

This crisis is a compounded one. While unemployment increases and the economy falls into a depression, inflation and the high cost of living continue. It is silly to believe that the acrobatics of minister Orgad, even if his government backs him, will be able to get the country out of this crisis.

What is needed now is a change in the foreign policy: from the policy of imperialism to neutrality; from wars against the Arabs to immediate withdrawal from Lebanon and readiness for a just peace with the Palestinian people; from an economic policy which serves the local and foreign capitalists to a progressive policy that would agree with the interests of the working class and people.

This radical change requires that the Shamir government fall. It is the duty of all the parties opposing the Likud to join together to achieve this goal.

AL ITTIHAD
January 9

Erosion of Hospital Services in Old City

In a move further deteriorating services for Old City residents, the Israeli ministry of health orderd the closure of the surgical unit of the Hospice Hospital, the only local hospital in the Old City of Jerusalem and a main treatment centre for the poor and the elderly. Hospital administrators were given until March 3 to close down the 50-bed section, the busiest in the small hospital. No official reason was given for the closure but the Israeli authorities have been circulating for years the rumour that the Austrian Mission wanted its building back, to convert it into a hotel.

The mission rented the three-storey structure to the Jordanian government in 1948 for use as a hospital and according to Jordanian rent law, cannot break the lease if the property is still in use. It is the only medical institution within the walled city and has been administered by Israeli authorities since their takeover of the city in 1967.

Dr Abdullah Khouri, former chief-of-staff and head of surgery at the hospital, was suspended from work for two weeks July 27. The suspension lengthened to three months until Khouri resigned at the end of 1983.

Dr. Ahmad al-Muhtadi, the current chief-of-staff at the Hospice, strongly protested the surgery closure and dismissed as baseless any relation to Khouri's resignation. Muhtadi said that Israeli authorities had appointed a physician to replace Khouri during the last three months. "Anyway," he said, "no department in the world gets closed because one person resigned." Muhtadi said the Israeli decision is a severe blow to poor residents of the Old City.

A delegation of local doctors and residents from the Old City of Jerusalem went to the Israeli-run Jerusalem municipality to request their intervention but Israeli Mayor Teddy Kolleck's deputy, Moris Zilcha, told the group to "contact Austria." In 1979 the hospital accommodated 104 beds; by 1980 the number was reduced to 75 and in April 1983 capacity was reduced again to 60 beds. "They want to eventually close down the entire hospital," said Mohammad Salameh, the administrative director.

The hospital will keep open its obstetrics and internal medicine sections. Beds are only IS350 per night including the cost of operations and medication while Israeli hospitals charge IS14,000 per night. The hospital admitted 6000 patients in 1983 from all over the West Bank. Over 18,000 patients received out-patient treatment from the hospital and 1500 operations were performed in the surgery unit. Seventy-five employees will lose their jobs because of the order.

Kahane: "I've learned to mock the police..."

After a week-long game of cat-and-mouse between the Jerusalem police and Rabbi Meir Kahane, who was arrested for incitement and then walked out of a local police station, a Jerusalem magistrate released the Kach movement leader on IS25,000 bail, January 8. Kahane was also ordered to turn over his US passport to the police.

Kahane turned himself in to the Jerusalem police commander, January 8, three days after he escaped from the waiting room in the Jerusalem police station. Israeli police had arrested Kahane on suspicion of publicly expressing support for the Israeli para-military group 'Terror Against Terror' (TNT), which has claimed responsibility for a number of explosions at Islamic and Christian holy sites in the West Bank.

After absconding from police custody, Kahane gave an exclusive interview to a leading Israeli newspaper, *Yediot Aharanot*, in which he spelled out his conditions for turning himself in.

Kahane was arrested on the afternoon of January 5 with two members of his movement while demonstrating in central Jerusalem and displaying a poster saying there should be no objection to TNT's activities. A little while later he escaped from police headquarters in the Moscobiyya, where he and his followers were under investigation. "The police officer told me explicitly that this time they intend to detain me for a long time and they will charge me with incitement. I considered this an attempt to persecute me, and when I noticed that the policeman was not paying attention, I simply got up and left the building. Nobody followed me," said Rabbi Kahane.

After his escape, Kahane stayed at a friend's flat in Jerusalem and while meeting the press, members of his movement came to encourage him. Kahane said he would give himself up only if he was guaranteed release on bail.

To this, the policemen responded, "This is not a market, and we do not make deals with those who escape from legal detention." Rabbi Kahane said that he is afraid that an administrative order will be issued detaining him without trial. "In this case, I shall not give myself up and they will not find me," he said.

He explained that he and his movement's members do not object to the activities of the group calling itself TNT, "but maybe it is worth stopping this system because it will not gain the most important goal — expulsion of all the Arabs from the country."

Kahane, 51, continued, "I have learned to make fun of the police." He said that he doesn't know if the TNT people are members of his movement but added: "These are brave men, although to our sorrow also stupid. If I knew who they were, I would not give their identities," said Kahane.

Kahane appeared before a magistrate the same day he turned himself in and was released on bail, against police recommendation.

Acre Rabbi Calls for All-Jewish Areas

The publicity given to a *halachaic* (Jewish religious law) edict, according to which a Jew should not live in a neighbourhood with an Arab, and a call by the Acre Rabbi Yosef Yashar to stop Arab residence in the town's Wolfson Quarter — received muted response. Both Jews and Arabs are trying to lessen the importance of the issue. The issue came to light after publication of the statements in a local newspaper, *One North*, particularly the statement of the rabbi that the 137 Arab families should be transferred from the quarter and others should not be allowed to reside in it.

Acre Mayor Eli de Castro said that because of the honour of the rabbi, he did not wish to respond to the matter in public and that he intends to meet with him privately to discuss it. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, HaAretz, January 3, 1984).

Anti Zionist Charged with Conspiracy

Rabbi Moshe Hirsch of the Orthodox Jewish anti-Zionist Neturei Karta was arrested, January 3, on charges of conspiracy and contempt of the Israeli High Court. Hirsch was later released on bail. His arrest came as a result of an article in the Israeli daily *Al Hamishmar*, in which he was quoted as saying, "We will plague the Zionist establishment." Hirsch was commenting on the prison sentencing and fining of 12 members of his organisation for demonstrations against archaeological digs in an ancient Jewish cemetery in Jerusalem's Old City.

Hirsch was also charged with contempt of the High Court for pointing out that the court nullified the decision of Israel's chief rabbis that the digs are illegal, proving that "the state of Israel is not a Jewish state based on *halacha* but rather a state among the nations based on non-Jewish Turkish and English law," as Hirsch was quoted as saying.

Water Mains Sabotaged

A water pipe connecting the nahal (army agricultural unit) observation post Esh'har, in the Western Galilee, was blown up, January 7. Police are investigating.

The pipe was sabotaged with an improvised device constructed from mortar shell parts. It was the second time in a week attempts were made to sabotage the pipe. Police are seriously considering the possible renewal of sabotage attempts on roads and water pipes.

The blast occurred on a dirt road leading to Nahal Esh'har, five kilometres from the Sakhnin police station. Police border guards and senior officers of the Galilee regional police arrived immediately after the blast, and speical team started an investigation. So far, there have been no arrests but there are several directions of investigation, according to Inspector Salomon, of the Galilee Regional police. Recently there has been an increase in attacks against observation points in the Galilee, primarily of Gil'on and Hararit. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, January 9, 1984).

Anglican Bishop Installed

In a festive ceremony, the Anglican Church inaugurated the Right Reverend Samir Qafity as Bishop of Jerusalem and the Middle East, January 6. The installment of Bishop Qafity, held in East Jerusalem's St. George's Cathedral, was attended by Anglican bishops from all over the world. Qafity, 50, studied at the American University in Beirut and has been serving in the Middle East since 1957. He replaces Bishop Faiq Haddad, who resigned after seven years in the post.

The church's Middle East division extends all over Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

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WEEKLY REVIEW

January 2, 1984

MOLOTOV NEAR BALATA

NABLUS — A Molotov bomb was thrown towards an Israeli Army vehicle near Balata refugee camp.

The camp also witnessed an anti-Israeli demonstration where youths carried the Palestinian flag.

OLIVE TREES ASSASSINATED

JERUSALEM — Unknown vandals sprayed acid on olive trees near a mosque in Jabal al-Mukaber, a Jerusalem neighbourhood. Twenty-five trees were damaged.

SCHOOL ALLOWED OPEN

JERUSALEM — Studies at the UNRWA-run Kalandia camp girls school resumed after a two-month closure by the Israeli military.

HEAVY SENTENCES

YA'ABAD — Six youths from Ya'abad were sentenced to jail terms of between four and 18 months on charges of demonstrating and stone-throwing.

PRISONER DIES

TULKARM — Prisoner Mahmoud Awadin, 50, from Tulkarm camp, died of a heart attack. He was serving a 10-year sentence on political charges.

January 3, 1984

HOSPITAL GRADUALLY CLOSED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli Health Department closed the general surgery section of the Hospice Hospital in the Old City of Jerusalem. This step is part of a policy to close the whole hospital. The Hospice mainly treats poor people and Old City residents.

JALAZON MAN SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Tawfiq Mohammed Daoud, a Jalazon camp resident, to a four-year prison term on charges of membership. He was also charged with receiving military training outside.

SETTLER CAR TORCHED

AL-BIREH — Unknown individuals set ablaze a car owned by an Israeli settler near the industrial area of al-Bireh. The car was burnt completely.

UNIONIST RELEASED

JERUSALEM — Unionist Hussein Fugaha, secretary of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, was released after a 48-hour detention. He was arrested following a raid at the union's headquarters in Jerusalem by the Israeli police, who confiscated posters.

OR FACE DEMOLITION

BEIT JALA — Twenty home-owners from the Ras al-Qasabah area in Beit Jala must obtain licenses for their houses, many of which were built since the early 1970s, according to the Jerusalem municipality. The Arab-owned houses are located near Gilo settlement.

NO CHOICE

RAMALLAH — Nine students from Kalandia Vocational School were ordered to pay IS10,000 each or spend a month in jail on charges of demonstrating.

BIR ZEIT PROFESSOR WINS AWARD

BIR ZEIT — Professor Kamal Abd al-Fatah, head of the Bir Zeit University Research Department, won the Abd al-Hamid Shouman award for the sciences. The award, in the amount of JD5000, was given to Dr Abd al-Fatah for his research on agricultural geography.

JOURNALIST'S HOME VANDALISED

JERUSALEM — Vandals broke into the home of Ibrahim Qara'een, the editor of *Al Awda* magazine, and vandalised it. Qara'een was not home during the incident.

GISCARD HERE

JERUSALEM — Former French President Giscard d'Estaing visited the Old City of Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock Mosque area.

January 4, 1984

SOLDIER HIT BY GRENADE

TEL AVIV — An Israeli soldier was wounded when a hand grenade, thrown towards an army position in Jabaliya, Gaza, exploded.

FALSE MAPS

JERUSALEM — The Muslim *waqf* in Jerusalem protested to Israel's minister of tourism over the distribution of misleading maps to tourists that include drawings of two Jewish temples in place of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.

WANT UNRWA'S OPINION

WEST BANK — Students of three UNRWA institutions held a sit-in protest at the agency's headquarters in Sheikh Jarah, in Jerusalem, against the comprehensive exams. The sit-in was conducted by students from the Men's and Women's Teachers Colleges in Ramallah and Kalandia Vocational Schools. The students demanded that UNRWA state its position regarding the exams.

HEBREW LABOUR UNIONIST

HAIFA — Yacoub Teller, secretary of the Union of Construction Workers in the Galilee, urged kibbutzim in that area not to hire Arab workers and to give what little work that is left to Jews only.

INEPT OR UNWILLING

TEL AVIV — Israeli Television said the Israeli police has failed, so far, to find any clue on the Israeli terror group "Terror Against Terror," which took responsibility for more than 10 explosions in Arab centres in the past few weeks. The police has not formed a team to look into the acts but appointed only one policeman to investigate these acts.

YOUTHS JAILED

NABLUS — Palestinian youths, one from Qalqiliya and eight from Hebron, were given various jail terms on charges of stone-throwing and inciting protests against the Israeli occupation.

The Qalqiliya youth was given five years on charges of throwing a firebomb towards an Israeli car in the city. The eight Hebron youths were given up to 20 months in jail.

Greek Orthodox Christmas celebrations, January 6, were highlighted by the annual procession into Bethlehem, lead by the patriarch. To the right of Patriarch Benethikdos is Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij./ Garo photo

January 5, 1984

HOUSES DEMOLISHED

JERUSALEM — Two houses belonging to the Abu Dhiab family in Silwan, a Jerusalem neighbourhood, were demolished by the Jerusalem municipality on the pretext that the owners did not have building permits. A third house in Wadi Qaddome received demolition notices.

TWO ATTACKS IN SIDON

SIDON — Reports from South Lebanon said the Israeli Army closed the Awali River crossings, following two attacks on Israeli Army patrols in the outskirts of Sidon. Many people were arrested following the attacks, the reports said.

KACH WANT ARABS EXPELLED

JERUSALEM — The extreme right wing Kach movement, headed by Rabbi Meir Kahane, distributed leaflets in Jerusalem calling for the expulsion of Arabs and supporting the Israeli terror group "Terror Against Terror."

MILITARY GIVE LAND TO SETTLERS

TEL AVIV — *Yediot Aharanot* said 20,000 dunums in the Jordan Valley are to be handed over to settlers by the Israeli military.

ISRAELIS EXPECT WAR

TEL AVIV — According to a public opinion poll, 75 percent of Israelis believe there will be a war with Syria in the near future.

EGYPT HANDS ISRAEL THREE GAZANS

TEL AVIV — The Egyptian authorities handed to Israel three Gazans who crossed into Egypt without a visa. A Beer Sheba court ordered that the three men be kept in jail for 10 days, on suspicion that they crossed the borders illegally.

January 6, 1984

QALQILIYA MAN JAILED

QALQILIYA — A Qalqiliya man, Issam Abu Sara'a, was sentenced to eight years on charges of throwing a firebomb.

JEWISH AGENCY PLANS MORE SETTLEMENTS

TEL AVIV — The settlement department in the Jewish Agency intends to increase settlement building in the Gaza Strip and to expand the current settlements, the department director, Matityahu Drobless, said.

TAX OFFICIALS ATTACK AGAIN

QALQILIYA — Israeli tax officials raided several doctors' and lawyers' offices and local stores and ordered them to keep books of all taxes.

ZAYYAD INVITES POPE

NAZARETH — Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad sent an invitation to Pope John Paul II to visit Nazareth during the celebration of the 20th anniversary of Pope Paul's visit to the town.

GAZA SHOPS TO REOPEN

GAZA — The Israeli military allowed owners of stores in Gaza, closed by the Israelis, to reopen. The stores were closed, last December 20, when a bomb was thrown at an Israeli target in the area.

BOOKS LEAD TO JAIL

GAZA — The Israeli military court sentenced Mahmoud Gharbawi, owner of a bookstore in Gaza, to a one-year jail term on charges of possessing banned books.

ANSAR PRISONER STILL HELD

JENIN — The family of Othman Rafat, from Oraba, near Jenin, received word from the Red Cross that Othman was still held at Ansar Camp in South Lebanon and that he was not released in the prisoner exchange last November, as had been reported previously.

January 7, 1984

ROBBERY STYMIED

Thieves broke into the house of Ali Hussein al-Hih, in Surif, Hebron, and threatened to kill the family unless they handed over all their jewelry and money. When neighbours heard a shot, they came to the rescue and the thieves ran off.

PRISONERS AID

SILWAN — The Silwan Voluntary Work Committee helped repair the house of political prisoner Khadr Qunbur, who leaves jail soon.

The Restaurant and Hotel Workers Union of Jerusalem football team challenged Hittin, of Nablus, January 7, at the Jerusalem YMCA field. The Jerusalem team won 3-2./AO photo

"CALL FOR JACKSON"

NAZARETH — The Prisoners Friends Association requested that US Democratic Party nominee for US president, Rev. Jesse Jackson, intervene and help release Palestinian prisoner Ziad Abu Ain, who is still in an Israeli prison despite being included in the 1983 PLO-Israel prisoner exchange list.

NAJAH BLOCKADE

NABLUS — Israeli authorities stopped Najah University students who live in Jenin and Tulkarm from entering campus.

January 8, 1984

TYRES BURNT INSIDE MOSQUE

NABLUS — Blazing tyres damaged the inside of a mosque on Hittin Street, in the Old City of Nablus. The perpetrators are not known.

REFUGEES DETAINED IN BEIRUT

BEIRUT — News reports said the Lebanese Army recently arrested 275 people from Sabra and Shatila camps, in Beirut. Among those arrested were 65 Lebanese; the rest are Palestinian civilians.

NABLUS C-o-C PROTESTS TAXES

NABLUS — Chairman of the Nablus Chamber of Commerce, Zafir al-Massri, protested recent Israeli tax collection measures.

GAZA MAN INJURED

TEL AVIV — *Ma'ariv* newspaper said a Gaza man was shot by Israeli soldiers. The paper said the incident occurred when two men approached an army post in Jabaliya refugee camp. The other man was taken in for questioning.

JALAZON MEN ARRESTED

RAMALLAH — Three men from Jalazon refugee camp were arrested in Ramallah and others were summoned to the police station under the pretext that they did not pay fines of between IS15,000 and IS25,000.

RENEWED TOWN ARREST

Israeli military authorities renewed a town arrest order on Azmi Shuaibi, former al-Bireh councillor, for six months. The order restricts dentist Shuaibi to al-Bireh's municipal boundaries until July 8, 1984. This is the sixth successive six-month restriction order Shuaibi has received.

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Hallaj on Visit

Q: Does this also apply to Chairman Arafat?

A: Yes. We pride ourselves on developing democratic traditions, and I think that this was not just an empty claim — there was some substance to it, compared to our region. One thing that worries me is that we've been taking these traditions too lightly. I think our democratic tradition is vital.

Q: What would you say to those who argue that the visit of Chairman Arafat to Cairo may permanently split the PLO and even Fatah?

A: I value national unity for more than one reason. However, unfortunately, I think that unity, at least an organisational unity, has been damaged, perhaps irreparably damaged, as a consequence of the events in Tripoli. Palestinian blood has been spilled. If the Palestinian movement is going to lose the unity and cohesion it had and if the split is going to be formalised, it's not going to be because Yasir Arafat is in Egypt. To claim that really is to ignore what has been going on in Tripoli.

Q: Do you read the visit to Cairo and the circumstances which you described earlier as a general trend within the PLO towards closer cooperation with "moderate Arabs" in trying to secure a solution for the Palestine problem?

A: It is possible that Yasir Arafat and the part of the national movement which still concedes his leadership might be thinking of an alignment with the so-called moderate Arab states to counterbalance the pressures that they have faced from the so-called rejectionist states, such as Syria. This makes me a little bit apprehensive and cautious because I definitely don't want the PLO to be chained to the political claims which are acceptable to these so-called moderate states

I think it would be disastrous for us because the one thing we can't afford is to give up our right to nationhood and all that implies. This is not the same as saying that we should go raving mad when Yasir Arafat visits Egypt. But since it does have the potential, I think we have to be always aware of this danger and cautious about it. Those who oppose this within the PLO and Fatah would be just as responsible for it as Arafat and his faction. They will be putting him in a corner, making it a matter of survival for him.

Q: If this is a trend, and with the US' postive response to the visit to Cairo with other responses from the region, then it is likely that Chariman Arafat would go to Amman next to continue the dialogue with King Hussein. When I saw Chairman Arafat last, he said that the dialogue, from his point of view, was under the Fez Arab Summit Plan. How would you react to this?

A: All that I've read about these meetings is that Arafat was speaking to Hussein with the Fez Plan in his mind and that Hussein was speaking to Arafat with the Reagan Plan in his mind. I don't mind resumption of dialogue as long as it continues under these premises. Under these assumptions, I think it's safe for us to talk to any leader.

But if, from desperation with Arab governments or any reason, Arafat begins to deal with King Hussein from the perspective of the Reagan Plan, I think that the survival of the Palestinian national movement would become meaningless. If we are to diminish the pressure on us and try to ensure survival as a national movement by giving up our right to independence, I think it wouldn't be worth it anymore.

One of my red lines is that we cannot give up the right to speak on our own behalf. The minute you surrender the right to speak on your own behalf as an independent actor, you are giving up your claim to independence as a nation.

continued from page 6

According to Procedures

permitted — or even required — to actively pursue offenders, as if the civilians are soldiers or police. They are not limited anymore to catching someone who is intending to begin to commit a crime — as the matter is permitted in Israel. They are now permitted to catch the offender also after committing the offence, and are not limited to how much force they can use to accomplish the capture — distinguishing the situation from Israel.

If this is the situation, from now on the chasers will be able to claim: "A stone-thrower escaped. We chased him — according to the rule — and told him to halt. He didn't stop, and we shot into the air and then at him, in order to wound him."

Indeed, according to the instructions for opening fire, there is no exception here. This is how the security forces act when catching an escaping trespasser. And the general's permission indeed grants citizens of Israel the title of security people. This is essentially the new norm now being set in the West Bank.

For years, the settlers have tried to gain the status of security forces — both to meet actual needs and to prove their security effectiveness in the field. The defence ministry and the army have evaded granting them this status all these years. The main reason was the fear of losing control and the possibility of punishing settlers for misdeeds; the desire for such domination over the settlers was connected to the security forces' experience with settler activities in the past. The maximum the security forces agreed to so far was to allow them to act under their supervision and control, in the framework of the army's regional defence units. Now, with the permission to pursue, the status of "security forces" was given them and its use might develop into measures not yet foreseen.

Just a word of warning to all those who set their eyes and weapons towards such chases: no longer can you stand on the justification of "self-defence." Shooting at an escapee is not shooting out of self-defence. The expected disappearance of this expression constitutes another grave step in the escalation — or deterioration — in relations between Jews and Arabs on the West Bank. (Translation: HaAretz, December 14, 1983).

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The Coming Defeat

and artillery. The magicians were reciting their verses to dimiss evil spirits. Fear dominated everything in the village. Some noise was approaching the village... Rifles shot their bullets. Many grenades were thrown. Dreadful explosions were heard. A ghost approached the village square. It was a strange skeleton.

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It was midnight. The skeletons started advancing towards the village. Artillery sparks and fire changed the night into day. Some soldiers at the fortifications escaped when they realised that the bullets and shells did not hurt the skeletons. Dozens of skeletons suddenly appeared in the village, whose gates were destroyed. Residents were frozen behind their windows as if birds had landed on their heads. The skeletons were besieging houses owned by collaborators. Asil Sabarini broke into the mukhtar's house... He brought him to the square. Other skeletons also brought some collaborators. All collaborators were brought to the village's square. Asil Sabarini called on residents of the village to come to the square. They left their houses and slowly aproached the square. Shaker Haj's descendents greeted Sabarini, who kissed the village's flag. The villagers were very happy, feeling intimacy in the skeleton's behaviour. Each resident embraced a skeleton. The villagers and skeletons were mixed together and began dancing. The mukhtar and the collaborators were expelled from the village. The village residents burst forth in a joyful *zagharide*. The dawn had not yet come. (Translation: Al Fajr al-Adabi No. 39, December 1983).

With breath-taking frankness, Kiryat Arba settler Elyakim Ha'etzni, a lawyer and spokesperson for the settlement movement, answered questions put to him last summer by **Rex Wingerter**, an American student of law. Ha'etzmi puts all his cards on the table and feels no need even to blush — because no Israeli government can survive pitting the army against settlers.

"RETURN TO HEBRON IS THE VERY GIST OF ZIONISM"

Palestinian construction workers at Kiryat Arba, on the edge of Hebronite home and field. "We have no ambition to rule Arab towns with Jewish mayors, but it works!" /POP photo

Q: Should Israel annex the West Bank and Gaza?

A: Yes, Israel should declare sovereignty over the territories. It can be done within the framework of local personal autonomy which Israel has pledged itself to administer here. It can be done, notwithstanding Camp David, which is something I loath. Camp David has been broken a thousand times by Egypt, and Israel shouldn't be bound by this so-called peace treaty. I personally think a chapter in the Sinai is not closed. Egypt is preparing for another war against us, day and night. What we should do is impose autonomy unilaterally, without negotiating and without asking anyone. We shouldn't make any agreements with the Arabs. Nothing comes of it.

Q: What keeps Israel from formally annexing the area?

A: It is not practical at this time. It is not practical as long as we have one or two million Arabs and by the end of this summer only 40,000 or 50,000 Jews here. How can we convert Arabs to Israeli law? The Arabs don't want to change because the law reflects their culture. We would have to impose our culture on them, which we don't want to do. It would be like putting a Jewish hat on an Arab head. What we should do now is to implement Arab autonomy, where they would keep their own laws but under Israeli sovereignty. Maybe after having 300,000 or 400,000 Jews in the area the whole thing would be different. But that will take some time.

Q: Is that your understanding of Camp David autonomy?

A: Camp David is obsolete. It already is in the dust bin of history. We will allow the Arabs to administer strictly their own local personal affairs, while the Jewish settlements will be ruled by Israeli law. The land will be under Israeli sovereignty. The Arabs will not have control over water, security, foreign relations or the social infrastructure. If they want to have a state, there is 78 percent of Palestine that is already sovereign Palestinian Arab soil, so-called Jordan. They can change the name if they want. Please depose the little king, he doesn't belong here! Perhaps if there is a war with Syria and Jordan makes the mistake of joining it, maybe we will be instrumental in setting up a Palestinian state in Jordan. Then the whole situation will change.

Q: The Likud government proposes to make the West Bank Arabs citizens of the state of Israel. Do you agree?

A: I am not enthusiastic about such a proposal. It would make Israel a bi-national state, and that would not be good. Israel is a Jewish state. There should be autonomy in the way I described. The Arabs in Judea and Samaria should be allowed to vote in Amman just as I vote in Jerusalem. This is the homeland of the Palestinians and of us, it is one land, comprised of Eastern and Western Palestine. It is both sides of the Jordan. Someday we should be able to live in Jordan. There should be a federation between a Palestinian state in East Palestine and a Jewish state in West Palestine, with Jerusalem as its capital.

Q: Is this a variation of the Jordanian option where there is shared rule over the West Bank?

A: No. Arabs could vote in Amman but would not determine the affairs of Judea and Samaria. We don't dream of giving back any territory to Jordan, which is what the Labour Party wants. The sovereignty of Judea and Samaria will not be shared. I do not share my wife with anyone! There will be Israeli sovereignty from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River.

Q: But the United States and most of the world rejects that plan.

A: It is a double standard. The so-called enlightened and free public opinion in the West is concerned day and night with self-determination of the Arab minority in West Palestine but is completely nonchalant about the lack of self-determination for the majority of Arabs in Eastern Palestine, in Jordan.

But this does not bother the free world because they are not Jews. The free world — the whole Christian world — is psychotically engaged in Jewish questions. It is an illness.

Q: But didn't Israel accept from 1948 to 1967 that the West Bank was Arab land?

A: The "green line" (the imaginary line that separated Israel from the West Bank after 1967) for us is something very superficial, like foam on the deep sea. The sea is 3000 years old. You put on it a very, very thin layer of green paint — this doesn't hold. So for us, when we found ourselves in our ancient homeland, the place to which we returned — not to Tel Aviv, but here in Judea and Samaria — it was so natural. Everything came into place. For me to be in Hebron is natural; it is not natural for a Jew to be in New York. Even the Law of Return states that every Jew has the right to return not to the state of Israel but to the land of Israel. The state of Israel is a tool to bring the Jews back to their land. Therefore, any Israeli government that tried to block the way to Hebron, Nablus, Jericho or Beit El would contravene this fundamental, constitutional law. By this law I have the right to be in Hebron.

Q: But you got evicted from the Sinai?

A: Ah! No! The question is how much of the Sinai is *Eretz Israel*. Most Biblical scholars say that *Eretz Israel* extends to El Arish. But the people deep down in their hearts did not feel that this was *Eretz Israel*. There was only a short time when Jews ruled the area. But here in Judea and Samaria is where the Bible was created and lived out. Here, not in Tel Aviv. Here, where we sit! The whole sense of being Jewish is the linkage to the Jewish land; to return to Hebron is the very gist of Zionism.

Q: But are you not worried that growing Arab economic and military strength may someday push you off the West Bank?

A: We are always being told time is running against the Jews. It is not true. It is running against the Arabs. Twenty or thirty years from now the Arabs will ask themselves what they did with the fabulous wealth they had. Have they turned themselves into a second Japan? If not, then they will eat the sand. They are squandering their wealth! The sheikhs will be OK, but the Arab future will be nothing. What Mr Weinberger is building for them with the Bechtel Company is white elephants; nothing will remain of them. The steel and petro-chemical plants will be obsolete before they are completed. All this took back the petro-dollars, but it will be covered with sand very shortly.

At that time the West, especially the Americans, will get tired of its Palestinian obsession. We are sick and tired of it — of the bullying of the Jew. But the West will find other reasons to bully the Jew because they like to bully the Jew. But the Palestinian issue will be too worn out. Things will settle down by us giving the Arabs this limited, personal and local self-rule. At that time, the Palestine question will interest the world as does the question of the Arabs of Kurdistan; the world doesn't bother with it.

Q: If the current autonomy talks remain stalled and if the Labour or Likud Parties do not implement autonomy unilaterally, what will happen?

A: If they don't do it, life will do it. What life does is much more clever than what people contrive. The minute you decide to put settlements in towns and in Judea and Samaria, the facts will happen. This is the wisdom of settling the land of Israel; first you settle it and give it life. Then you give it a name.

Q: But the Palestinian Arabs reject your plans and do not want your settlements on the West Bank.

A: So what? Look, we were instrumental in making the government kick out the Arab mayor of Hebron. He was against Jews settling in Hebron and sought to make life difficult for them. But it is too late in the day for them to oppose us. The Arab mayor in Hebron, from now on, will have to have normal relations with Kiryat Arba and with the Jews who live in Hebron. Otherwise he will not be permitted to be mayor of Hebron. This has happened to two Hebron mayors now, and there will not be a third one.

Anyone who thought that we were intimidated from putting a Jew as a mayor of an Arab town was wrong. We are doing it now in Nablus, al-Bireh and Ramallah, and it has been operating very, very well. We have no ambition to rule Arab towns with Jewish mayors, but it works! And we have time to wait it out until the Arabs decide it is better for them to have a mayor who cooperates with the Jews. If they don't cooperate, they already know that we can run the town with a Jewish man!

Look, we — the settlers — even stopped Sharon's and Milson's Village Leagues, which was an attempt to implement autonomy unilaterally, through the civil administration.

Q: Why?

A: This Mr Dudeen of the Village Leagues, which Milson was so infatuated with, said that the Jewish settlements would go the way of the Sinai. He began to speak politically about a Palestinian state linked with Jordan under confederation. We don't want that! So we exerted a lot of pressure on the government. I think the politicisation of the Village Leagues now is dead.

Q: But you don't always get your way. You now want Arabs who throw stones at Israeli buses to be deported to Jordan, but Defence Minister Arens opposes it. Moreover, against the Labour Party you are a small minority. Just how much power do you wield to get what you want?

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